FOUR

DISSERTATIONS,

ON THE

RECIPROCAL ADVANTAGES

OF A

PERPETUAL UNION

BETWEEN

GREAT-BRITAIN

AND HER

AMERICAN COLONIES.

WRITTEN

For Mr. SARGENT's PRIZE-MEDAL.

To which (*by Desire*) is prefixed,

An EULOGIUM,

Spoken on the Delivery of the MEDAL at the Public Commencement in the College of *Philadelphia*, *May* 20th, 1766.

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PREFACE,

ADDRESSED TO

JOHN SARGENT, Eſq;

MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT, &c.

Worthy Sir,

AS the following Diſſertations owe their birth to your judicious choice of the ſubject, and liberal encouragement of it, they now naturally wait upon you for your protection and countenance. Your original deſign having been only to excite a noble emulation among the youth of an infant ſeminary, in a remote part of the world, and to turn their early attention to a matter of very high and national importance, you will not look for any thing in the execution beyond their years, their experience, or opportunities of information.

Your known candour will likewiſe lead you to conſider the peculiar difficulties, ariſing from the times and circumſtances, in which theſe pieces were compoſed. An act of the Britiſh parliament had become the

fatal cauſe of an unhappy breach of that *union* which had ſo long ſubſiſted (and ever ought to ſubſiſt) between the Colonies and the Mother Country; and very general were the agitations and uneaſineſs thereby produced on this ſide of the Atlantic. Even hoary age, and men of the moſt ſubdued paſſions among us, admitting the moſt plenary juriſdiction of a Britiſh parliament, could not, in this particular caſe, but conſider their conduct as at leaſt unkind to their American fellow ſubjects, in deſiring (without any preſent neceſſity that appeared to us) to come between us and our ſovereign, and to lay a foundation which might eaſily have been drawn in to a precedent for depriving us of all future opportunities of teſtifying our loyalty, by the free and voluntary grant of our own money.

If, then, ſuch was the light in which the *cool* and the *aged* conſidered this matter, expreſſions of a warmer and more unguarded kind might have dropt from the pens of youth! Yet no ſuch thing appears in the following diſſertations, which are laid before the public in the genuine form and dreſs wherein they were preſented by their authors.

Nor

Nor was it poſſible that the ſmalleſt additions or alterations could be made conſiſtent with the plan purſued in the execution of your truſt; which plan you ought to have an account of, and it may alſo be of uſe to preſerve it here, by way of precedent for future occaſions of the like kind.

Several conſiderations having prevented the Truſtees of the College from propoſing your Medals to be contended for by the youth, the firſt year after the receipt of them, they were at laſt propoſed, by an advertiſement as follows, viz.

College of Philidelphia, March 6, 1766.

" WHEREAS John Sargent, Eſq; mer-
" chant in London, and member of par-
" liament, hath preſented to this College a
" * Gold Medal, for the beſt Engliſh eſſay
" *on the reciprocal advantages of a perpetual*
" *Union between Great-Britain and her Ame-*
" *rican Colonies.*—Notice is hereby given,
" by order of the Truſtees, that the ſaid
" Medal will be diſpoſed of at the enſuing
" com-

* Only ſo much of the advertiſement is here inſerted as relates to the diſpoſition of the Medal, which produced the following Eſſays. Mr. Sargent's other Medal not being yet diſpoſed of.

" commencement in May, for the beſt eſſay
" that ſhall be produced on the ſubject pro-
" poſed, by any of thoſe who have received
" any degree, or part of their education in
" this College.—And as the ſaid ſubject is
" one of the moſt important which can at
" this time employ the pen of the patriot or
" ſcholar, and is thus left open to all thoſe
" who have had any connection with this
" College, either as ſtudents or graduates,
" it is hoped, for the honour of the Seminary,
" as well as their own, they will nobly exert
" themſelves on a ſubject ſo truly animating,
" which may be treated in a manner alike
" intereſting to good men, both here and in
" the mother country.

" Each candidate is deſired to prefix a
" motto, and a mark or device to his per-
" formance, and ſeal it up, without his name,
" in a ſeparate cover. He is then to put his
" name under another ſealed cover, writing
" on the outſide of this cover the ſame motto
" and mark or device, which he has prefixed
" to his performance.

" The utmoſt impartiality will be ob-
" ſerved by the Truſtees and Profeſſors in
" examining

" examining the ſeveral performances, with-
" out opening any of the covers that contain
" the names, till it is firſt determined which
" of the performances is entitled to the
" Medal, and then only that cover will be
" opened on which the motto is written that
" directs to the name of the perſon entitled
" to the prize, which ſhall be given in pub-
" lic at the enſuing commencement; and
" therefore the ſeveral candidates are deſired
" to ſend their compoſitions and names ſealed
" and covered as aforeſaid, to the Provoſt,
" on or before the 8th day of May."

On the 8th day of May accordingly nine different performances were produced, on a careful peruſal of which, the three immediately following were laid aſide for a ſecond reading; after which the Medal was unanimouſly decreed to the firſt. The ſecond alſo was judged a maſterly, judicious and ſenſible performance, worthy of a Medal alſo, if there had been another for the ſame ſubject; and the third was likewiſe greatly approved of as a ſpirited performance, ſo far as it went; and it was agreed that the publication of both, together with the prize-

piece,

piece, would be of ſervice at this criſis; which determination was immediately inſerted in the public papers; in purſuance whereof the modeſt and ingenious youth, who is author of the ſecond Diſſertation, gave leave to publiſh it with his name. The author of the third Diſſertation, wrote, concerning his piece, that he "had but two days to ſpare, "from a particular hurry of buſineſs in his "profeſſion, to prepare it in; and that ſo far "from thinking it diſgraced by being the "third beſt, he would have rejoiced, for the "honour of the ſeminary in which he received "his firſt education, if all the other ſix had "been ſuperior alſo; and that if there were "any obſervations in it which had not oc-"curred to the other gentlemen, or were "likely to ſerve as hints for abler pens to ſet "ſo important a ſubject in a proper light, he "readily conſented to its publication; but "requeſted, for particular reaſons, that his "name might not be annexed to it."

The fourth little piece is the production of an ingenious ſon of the college, in his own eaſy unpremditated way. He has by many compoſitions done honour to the place of his education;

education; and by this, which was only the ſudden work of a few hours of that day, in which the other pieces were under examination, he meant not to come in competition for the prize, but only to throw his mite into the general ſtock. After his departure to *England*, ſome of his friends having deſired it to be publiſhed, with the three firſt pieces, it was accordingly annexed; and had any of the authors of the other five remaining pieces, or their friends, made the like requeſt, they would have been indulged in it. Indeed moſt of them would have well deſerved to be laid before the public, had we not been afraid that the repetition of many of the ſame ſentiments, which muſt unavoidably run through them all, on the ſame ſubject, would at length become tireſome to the reader.

We have only now to mention the occaſion of the following Eulogium. By your own propoſal, as well as by order of the Truſtees of the College, the Medal was to be conferred at a public commencement. Wherefore, at the commencement, May 20th, 1766, immediately after the valedic-

tory oration, the Hon. John Penn, Eſq; governor of the province, as preſident of the truſteees of the College, delivered the Medal to the Provoſt, ordering him to confer it in public agreeable to their previous determination. The Provoſt accordingly acquainted the audience that the ſame had been decreed to John Morgan, M. D. F. R. S. &c. and profeſſor of the theory and practice of phyſic in the College of Philadelphia; and then requeſted Dr. Morgan to deliver his Diſſertation in public; which being finiſhed, the Eulogium accompanied the conferring of the Medal.

AN

A N

EULOGIUM,

On the delivery of Mr. Sargent's Prize-Medal at the public Commencement in the College of Philadelphia, May, 1766.

By WILLIAM SMITH, D. D.
Provoſt of that College.

(Publiſhed by Deſire)

SIR,

AS the reward of your great merit in this elegant performance, I am, in the name of the Truſtees and Faculty of this College, as well as in behalf of the worthy donor, to beg your acceptance of this Gold Medal.——Its intrinſic value may not be an object of much conſideration to you; but the truly honourable circumſtances, by which it now becomes yours, muſt render it one of the moſt valuable jewels in your poſſeſſion.

Adorned tho' you have been with honours in diſtant lands, yet we truſt thoſe will not be the leaſt acceptable to you, which your native country beſtows.

That the firſt literary prize, contended for in this inſtitution, ſhould fall to the ſhare of one of its eldeſt ſons, who, to much genius and application, has joined much knowledge of the world, will not ſeem ſtrange. Yet ſtill, for the honour of the ſeminary, and what will not derogate from your honour, it will appear that you have obtained this pre-eminence over no mean competitors.

Some of our younger ſons (among whom we ought not to omit the name of the modeſt and candid * *Watts*, with ſome others even of inferior ſtanding) have exhibited ſuch vigorous efforts of genius, and tread ſo ardently on the heels of you and others their ſeniors, that it will require the utmoſt exertion of all your faculties, the continual ſtraining of every nerve, if you would long wiſh to lead the way to them, in the great career of fame.

O noble

* Author of the ſecond of the following Diſſertations.

O noble conteſt! O happy ſeat of ſcience! to behold ſuch a divine emulation among thy ſons, kindled by the ardent deſire of glory, and ſupported on thoſe liberal principles which true literature alone can inſpire!

Much do we owe to you, gentlemen, on this occaſion, much every way—much for the pains you have taken to do honour to the place of your education; and much for the public teſtimony you have given in its favour, declaring that *here* you have imbibed the true principles of liberty, and have learned from your "early * youth, that your head, your "heart, and your hand, ſhould ever be at the "ſervice of your country."—

True it is, gentlemen, that we have publickly inculcated—and it was our duty to inculcate on you, "that † if there be any "thing on this earth ſuited to the native dig-"nity of the human mind, and worthy of con-"tention,

* See Dr. Morgan's Diſſertation, who was one of the firſt graduates.

† Theſe quotations are from a charge delivered by the author of this Eulogium, to the firſt claſs of graduates in the College of Philadelphia, May 17th, 1757. Dr. Morgan was one of this claſs.

" tention, it muſt be to aſſert the cauſe of " religion and truth; to ſupport the fun- " damental rights and liberties of mankind; " and to ſtrive for the conſtitution of your " country, and a government by known laws, " freely conſented to by yourſelves, or your " certain delegates."

We have exhorted you, " when your " country calls, to be all eye and ear, and " heart and voice and hand, in a cauſe ſo " glorious; proceeding with a manly and " intrepid ſpirit, with a fervent and en- " lightened zeal; fearleſs of danger, un- " daunted by oppoſition, and convincing " the world that liberty is your unconquer- " able delight, and that you are ſworn foes " to every ſpecies of bondage either of body " or of mind."

But however much it might have been our duty to deliver leſſons of this kind, ſmall would have been the honour we ſhould have derived from them, if you, gentlemen, had not nobly called thoſe leſſons forth into action, demonſtrating by your living example, that the education you received in this place,

" was

" was not a mere art of furniſhing the " head, but a true diſcipline of the life and " manners."

Truly delicate and difficult, we confeſs, was the ſubject firſt preſcribed to you——to treat of " the reciprocal advantages of a " perpetual Union between Great-Britain and " her American Colonies," at a time when a fatal miſunderſtandig had untwiſted all the cords of that Union, and the minds of many were too much inflamed. This difficulty was likewiſe encreaſed to us by other conſiderations.

Great-Britain, who, by her liberality, had raiſed this College from a helpleſs to a flouriſhing ſtate, had an undoubted demand on us, in our particular capacity, for all the returns of gratitude. Yet we could not, we durſt not divert the ſtreams of Learning from their ſacred courſe. Our country, nay all America, had a right to demand that thoſe ſtreams ſhould be directed pure along, to water the goodly Tree of Liberty, nor ever be ſuffered to cheriſh any foul weed, that would choak its growth.

In

In this moſt difficult conjuncture, we rejoice to behold you, in your early youth, exerciſing all the temper and prudence of the moſt experienced patriots; freely and dutifully acknowledging in behalf of the mother country, that, " * as the deſign of colonizing " was not to found a new empire, but to ex- " tend the old, the colonies owe obedience " under all conſtitutional and legal reſtric- " tions, and a due ſubordination in all com- " mercial purpoſes;" yet firmly aſſerting in behalf of the colonies, that they " are " entitled, in return, to the full and free " enjoyment of Britiſh Liberty, and ne- " ceſſary protection from all external violence, " —and that a policy which would enſure " a ſmall immediate revenue, at the expence " of a great, though indirect, national gain, " is mean and ſordid, unworthy of the gene- " rous enterprizing ſpirit of a commercial " nation;" and radically deſtructive of the mutual confidence.

We rejoice that ever we had the leaſt ſhare in forming ſentiments like theſe, which have led you to draw the true line, and power- fully

* See Diſſertation III.

fully to ſhew that on the everlaſting baſis of reciprocal intereſt, and a participation of conſtitutional privileges, and on this alone, our Union ſhall be perpetuated, and "our † "bleeding wounds healed up, without ſo "much as a ſcar by way of remembrance."

Here you have ſhewn yourſelves entitled to the name of true Sons of Liberty—— Sons of Liberty indeed! neither betraying her ſacred cauſe on the one hand, nor degenerating into Licentiouſneſs on the other.

The occaſion now calls me to addreſs a few things to you, gentlemen, who have juſt received your degrees in this Seminary; but I would not treſpaſs on the patience of this candid audience.

You have obſerved the honours to which literary merit, and integrity of principles, have already advanced thoſe who have gone before you in their ſtudies here; and you cannot but be ſenſible, that of all the glories reflected on this inſtitution, we judge thoſe the moſt ſolid and tranſporting which we derive from our own ſons.

† See Mr. Watts's Diſſertation.

The time is faſt approaching, and I truſt your boſoms now glow for it, when you too ſhall, in your turn, have an opportunity of doing honour to your education, by your conduct in public life. When that time ſhall come, educated as you have been in the principles of ſound liberty, permit us to promiſe ourſelves, that you will ever think it your glory, to be enliſted under her banners, and to follow her exalted call.

What we have often given in ſolemn charge to thoſe who have gone before you, and what you have often heard delivered in the courſe of your ſtudies here, is, I hope, engraven on your memories, and need not now be repeated.

You will conſider all arts, all ſciences, all eloquence, all philoſophy, as intended to diſcipline the ſoul for eternity, and ſo far as they center not ultimately in this grand view, they are at beſt but empty trifles. Always look on the ſcriptures of God as that maſter ſyſtem of knowledge, by which all other wiſdom is to be regulated and perfected.

In whatever ſtation of life you are, we hope you never will forget your obligations to this ſeminary, which will travail, as it were, in pain for you, till you appear on the theatre of action with dignity; and will expect to find its own children and ſons, at leaſt, among the number of its friends.———We wiſh you every felicity, and bid you farewel.

And here I ought to conclude — But the joyous occaſion calls me to return particular thanks to this ſplendid audience for the countenance they have given us this day; and to congratulate them on the glorious and happy turn in the affairs of America, whereof yeſterday † gave us the certain and confirmed accounts.

When I look back on the dreadful ſtate of ſuſpence, in which theſe Colonies have been ſo long agitated; when, in the room of foreboding doubt and painful ſolicitude, I behold joy in every look, the clouds diſperſed, the ſun breaking in upon us again, and

† The account of the repeal of the American ſtamp-act was received at Philadelphia, the day before the delivery of this Eulogium, viz. May 19, 1766.

an aſſembly around me, in which every man rejoices to ſalute his neighbour as Free. —— I Feel, I Feel, a ſympathy unutterable, and an exultation of ſoul never felt before!

O glorious day! O happy America! if now we but know how to prize our happineſs—— The unguarded fallies of intemperate zeal will ſoon be forgotten; but the ſtedfaſt, the noble, the patriotic efforts of cool and good men, in the vindication of native and conſtitutional rights, will more and more claim the regard of all the free, in every clime and age, and perhaps be conſecrated by time into one of the brighteſt tranſactions of our ſtory; aſſerting our pedigree, and ſhewing that we were worthy of having been deſcended from the illuſtrious ſtock of Britons!

The cauſe of liberty, civil and religious, is the cauſe of Britain herſelf—nay it is the cauſe of heaven; and it was with inexpreſſible ſatisfaction that I beheld more than one of the gentlemen, who have written on the ties of Union between Great Britain and her colonies, deriving a very capital argument from the ties of a common religion.

When

When I review the hiſtory of the world, and look on the progreſs of knowledge, freedom, arts, and ſciences, I cannot but be ſtrongly perſuaded that heaven has yet glorious purpoſes to ſerve thro' America.

Civil liberty, the proteſtant religion, the principles of toleration, in their purity, honourable as they are to human nature, ſubſiſt but in few places of the globe; and Great-Britain is their principal reſidence.

Under her auſpices they were tranſplanted into America, where they have got firm root, and are flouriſhing into immenſe growth, and will bring ſuch an acceſſion of ſtrength to the general cauſe of liberty and proteſtantiſm, that we truſt no power on earth ſhall ever be able to prevail againſt their united ſtrength.

This ſentiment, it is hoped, will more and more gain ground among good men, both here and in the mother country; convincing them that to check the ſpirit of freedom, or diſcourage the propagation of knowledge here in America, would, on the part of Great-Britain, be

be to wound her own members, and weaken or deſtroy that glorious public ſyſtem of truth, freedom and happineſs, whereof ſhe is the guardian and the head.

Animated by theſe principles, and guided by an enlightened zeal, it will become us to manifeſt our gratitude and love to the mother country, by every means in our power. Let us make our moderation known to all the world; bending our whole thoughts to a virtuous induſtry, beneficial to ourſelves and to Great-Britain; acting " as free, but not u-" ſing our liberty as a cloak of maliciouſneſs", or of licentiouſneſs.

DISSERTATION
ON THE
RECIPROCAL ADVANTAGES
OF A
PERPETUAL UNION
BETWEEN
GREAT-BRITAIN
AND HER
AMERICAN COLONIES.

FOR WHICH
Mr. SARGENT's PRIZE-MEDAL
WAS ADJUDGED TO
JOHN MORGAN, M. D. F. R. S. &c. and Profeſſor of the Theory and Practice of Phyſic in the College of Philadelphia.

TO

JOHN SARGENT, Eſq;

MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT, &c.

THIS ESSAY,

As a ſmall Teſtimony of Gratitude

For many perſonal Favours received,

And from a due Senſe

Of His

Accurate Judgment and Public Spirit,

Manifeſted

As well in the Choice of the Subject

For the following Performance,

As in the polite and generous Manner

In which he propoſed it,

Is moſt humbly inſcribed,

By his much obliged,

Moſt obedient,

And very humble Servant,

JOHN MORGAN.

DISSERTATION I.

On the Reciprocal ADVANTAGES OF A PERPETUAL UNION BETWEEN *Great-Britain* and her *American* Colonies.

NEVER hath the cauſe of Liberty employed the pen of any of her votaries upon a ſubject of greater importance to Britain and her Colonies, than the *reciprocal advantages* of which a perpetual UNION between them muſt neceſſarily be productive. To inveſtigate theſe advantages, and to place them in a clear and conſpicuous point of view, requires much ſkill and ingenuity, and affords ample ſcope for a vigorous exertion of the brighteſt genius, aſſiſted and improved by the moſt extenſive literature. A competent knowledge of the great and fundamental principles of govern- Introduction.

ment, of the nature of the *Britiſh* conſtitution, the particular rights and privileges of the ſeveral Colonies, together with the hiſtory of their produce, trade and commerce, is indiſpenſably neceſſary to ſuch an undertaking.

Motives for this undertaking.

UNEQUAL as I am to the arduous taſk, and trembling, leſt the ſubject ſhould ſuffer under my unpractiſed hand, I have been almoſt tempted to decline it; but when I conſider myſelf at once as a *Briton* and an *American*, and reflect upon the invaluable privileges and benefits, to which, in both theſe characters and capacities, I am ſo happy as to be entituled, every apprehenſion vaniſhes; an honeſt confidence takes place, and I venture to deliver my ſentiments, rude and unpoliſhed as they are, upon this intereſting theme, depending for ſucceſs upon that love of liberty, and that warm zeal for my country's welfare, with which my boſom does, and, I truſt, will always glow. 'Tis this alone gives me reaſon to hope for that candour from my dear countrymen, to which I am well convinced my poor abilities can lay no claim.

Further motives.

BUT I have an additional incentive to this undertaking: for I am called to it, as the ſon

of

of an Inſtitution, wherein I imbibed the true principles of Liberty, and was taught to admire the beauty and excellency of that civil conſtitution, in which the governing powers mutually controul, and are controuled by each other, in which the rights of prince and people are accurately diſcriminated, and liberty and property effectually ſecured by a government of laws, not of men; in which civil and religious rights and privileges are held ſacred and inviolable, and declared to be no leſs the birth-right of the meaneſt ſubject, in the moſt diſtant and obſcure corner of the realm, than of the higheſt courtier that baſks in the ſun-ſhine of royal favour.

This Britiſh American ſeminary, which was founded upon theſe principles, and is careful to tranſmit them pure and uncorrupted to all her children, is juſtly intituled to a greater tribute from me than I have it in my power to pay. She has often inculcated this leſſon upon my youth, "That my head, my hand and my heart ſhould be at the ſervice of my country." My head and my hand perhaps may fail of rendering her ſuch aſſiſtances as ſhe receives from better heads and abler

hands: but the preſent occaſion will, at leaſt, enable me to ſhew, that I have an heart as deeply intereſted in my country's welfare, as any of her ſons. 'Tis upon this principle alone, that I ſtand a candidate for the honours which are now propoſed "to the beſt diſſertation on the reciprocal advantages of a perpetual union between Great-Britain and her colonies."

The plan of treating the ſubject.

In treating of this important ſubject, was I to enter upon a full and compleat enumeration of all theſe advantages, I ſhould doubtleſs exceed the limits uſually preſcribed to performances of this nature. The principal arguments that I ſhall advance in favour of this perpetual union, ſhall be derived from one or other of theſe two ſources.

Firſt, From a conſideration of the nature and extent of the Commerce that ſubſiſts between Great-Britain and her Colonies, and the amazing increaſe of riches and power which they reciprocally derive from that Commerce.

Secondly, From the glorious proſpect of the advancement of the proteſtant religion, which

which they profeſs, and ſpreading the goſpel in its purity, through the vaſt benighted regions of this weſtern world.

But a full diſcuſſion of the ſeveral arguments to be drawn even from theſe two ſources, would require a volume, inſtead of a ſhort diſſertation. I ſhall therefore confine myſelf chiefly to thoſe which may be drawn from the firſt ſource, and only touch upon the ſecond, in the cloſe of the performance.

A general view of the preſent ſtate of the colonies.

In the firſt place then, if we do but take a general view of the preſent flouriſhing condition of the colonies, and reflect upon the very ſmall beginnings from which they have roſe, in ſo ſhort a time, to ſuch a height as now renders them the richeſt jewel in the crown of Britain; if we conſider the figure that New-England, New-York, the Jerſeys, Penſylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and Carolina make at this day, compared with the ſtate of theſe countries in the hands of their original proprietors; if we attend a little to the amazing increaſe of their inhabitants, their products and exports, the prodigious quantities of manufactures they take off from

from England, and the ballance of trade which ſhe obtains from their commodities, the ſhipping this commerce requires, the ſeamen it raiſes, the mouths it feeds, the hands it employs, and the accumulated wealth which it brings to thouſands, nay millions of ſubjects, we cannot but be fully convinced of the vaſt importance and advantage of a perpetual Union between Great-Britain and her American colonies.

Their great improvement.

Can the warmeſt imagination form to itſelf an idea of aught more ſublime and delightful, than thoſe happy effects which commerce, and the full enjoyment of civil and religious liberty, have ſo ſuddenly produced in countries, which were not long ſince the dreary haunts of ſavage beaſts and ſavage men: Where ignorance and barbarity frowned over the uncultivated earth, gay fields now ſmile, bedecked in the yellow robe of full-eared harveſt; cities riſe majeſtic to the view; fleets too croud the capacious harbour with their ſwelling canvas, and ſwarms of chearful inhabitants cover the ſhore with monuments of their induſtry, through a long tract of two thouſand miles.

From

From this general view of the amazing increaſe of our American Colonies, I naturally proceed to a particular detail of the advantages which are derived from them to the mother country. A detail of the ſubject.

Certain it is, that nothing can contribute more to the flouriſhing ſtate of any trading nation, than the eſtabliſhing of ſettlements in foreign parts. Experience evinces the truth of this. Their American plantations heretofore rendered the Portugueſe and Spaniards rich and powerful; and theſe are now, not only the greateſt and conſtant, but almoſt the only ſource of their wealth. Nor have either the French or Dutch been inattentive to this important object. Witneſs the ſettlements of the latter in the Eaſt-Indies, which, by their application to commerce, under the bleſſings of a moderate government, in a few ſcore years, *from the low and diſtreſſed ſtates of Holland, rendered them high and mighty.* Witneſs the efforts which France made the laſt war for the conqueſt of America, a prize worthy to be contended for by the moſt powerful nations. The city of Tyre, "whoſe merchants were as princes, and her great men Advantages of planting colonies.

the

the honourable of the earth," was, like Great-Britain, ſituated upon an iſland, and like Great-Britain maintained the dominion of the ſea by her commerce. The principal ſeat of her trade, and great ſource of her wealth, was the noble colony of Carthage, which ſhe founded; the power and naval ſtrength of which was carried to ſuch a height, by means of commerce, that forty years were ſpent by the Romans before they were able to ſubdue this mighty people *.

Particularly to Great-Britain.

To a nation ſituated on an iſland, as Great-Britain is, accommodated with every conveniency for trade, the eſtabliſhing of foreign plantations to promote her commerce is particularly beneficial, ſince the inhabitants have no other way of conveying abroad their product and manufactures but by navigation, which breeds ſeamen, and brings in wealth to maintain them. This renders England conſiderable by her fleets, reſpected by her allies, and the ſcourge of her enemies. Such hands therefore as are employed for theſe uſeful purpoſes, deſerve all kind of encouragement, for on the pillars of her commerce depend the ſafety and ſtrength of England.

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* Preceptor, Vol. II. on Trade and Commerce.

One of the moſt conſiderable advantages therefore, which Great-Britain derives from her American colonies, ariſes from their ſupplying her with commodities of her own, whereby a vaſt treaſure is ſaved to the nation, which would otherwiſe be ſpent in foreign kingdoms. One of the moſt conſiderable.

In North-America, we have almoſt every kind of climate as well as ſoil, to the extent of ſeven hundred leagues or upwards, on the ſea-coaſt, from north to ſouth. Theſe lands are capable of the greateſt improvement by cultivation. They yield ſome of the moſt valuable commodities for trade, and ſuch as are in the higheſt demand in other countries, ſuch as cotton, ſilk, indigo, rice, and great quantities of all kinds of corn of the beſt quality; and the number of commodities might be eaſily augmented. Vines are natural to many parts of the country; a variety of medicinal drugs, gums and plants, is not wanting; flax for linen, and hemp for cordage, are brought here to very great perfection; the woods yield materials for ſhips, houſes and cabinet work; the pine trees will furniſh a plenty of maſts and yards, with pitch, turpentine, tar, and roſin. The woods Natural advantages of America.

alſo abound in game; furs, and all ſorts of peltry are furniſhed from hence. In the bowels of the earth there are mines of iron, copper and coal, in great abundance; there are various ſorts of uſeful earths for bricks and tiles, and a variety of uſeful ſtones for building. Laſtly, North-America has ſpacious and ſafe harbours for ſhipping; and navigable rivers variouſly interſect the country, to facilitate the communication from one part to the other.

Its conveniencies for ſettling of colonies.

Now if the planting of colonies is ſo beneficial to a commercial people; if theſe are more eſpecially advantageous to an iſland, ſurrounded with ports, and where every inlet may prove a convenient harbour; and if a country abounding with uſeful commodities, bleſſed with a fertile ſoil, and a variety of healthy climates, is particularly calculated for the planting, growth and increaſe of colonies, we may readily conclude that the ſettlement of the Britiſh American colonies muſt have proved of the utmoſt advantage to Great-Britain. Nor is ſuch a concluſion void of foundation, as we ſhall be fully convinced, by

comparing

comparing the preſent condition of England with what it was, whilſt yet ſhe had no plantations.

Before that period, it is computed that the people of London did not exceed one ſixth part of their preſent number. England was then obliged to pay to foreigners for all the commodities ſhe now gets from America, at a moſt exorbitant price, and now exports thoſe very goods to the very ſame nations from which ſhe was wont to get them. It is ingeniouſly obſerved by an able pen, that rum, ſugar and tobacco, if we had no plantations, would prove ſo many iſſues to drain us of our circulating caſh, which are now the ſources of private wealth and the public revenue.

Condition of England before ſhe had any colonies.

At the time when queen Elizabeth entered upon her government, the cuſtoms produced but thirty-ſix thouſand pounds a year, a ſum far leſs than what one of her colonies now brings into the treaſury. The legal intereſt of money was then at twelve per cent. It is now but five, and England abounds in riches. Her ſhipping too is encreaſed to the moſt aſtoniſhing degree. In the year 1575, queen Elizabeth's time, the whole royal navy conſiſted but

In queen Elizabeth's reign.

twenty-four ſhips, and all the ſhipping then in England, both great and ſmall, fell ſhort of eight hundred ſail; a number not equal to half the veſſels which are employed at this time to carry on the commerce of America: According to an abſtract made about thirty years ago *, the royal navy conſiſted of three hundred and twenty-two ſail, carrying twelve thouſand two hundred and ſeventy pieces of cannon; and ſince that time has been continually increaſing. If the whole royal navy had been in commiſſion at the end of the laſt war, and manned to its full compliment, it could not have amounted to much leſs than one hundred thouſand ſeamen.

The colonies are uſeful in taking off the manufactures of Great-Britain.

Although the manufactures of England are, within a very few years, prodigiouſly augmented, the plantations alone take off near one half. By their conſumption of Engliſh manufactures, great are the advantages which redound to Great-Britain from her empire in America. The plantation trade is by far the moſt valuable of any whereof England can boaſt the enjoyment. What we may place great ſtreſs upon, it is continually improving. It

* See the Preceptor, on trade and commerce, vol. 2.

It is a mine in which we ſtill find richer and nobler veins. Whilſt other ſprings of commerce are drying up, this overflows. It is permanent, whilſt others are ſhifting place. What crowns its value, it is our own, in which other nations cannot rival England, nor can they deprive her of it.

The American trade may be rendered ſtill more beneficial.

Great as the preſent product of our trade is, it might be made much more beneficial, as it is computed by intelligent writers, that above a million annually might be ſaved or added to the ſtock, by a proper encouragement of many articles that might be raiſed in America. By the purchaſe of them abroad, we contribute to enrich other nations, who extort very exorbitant ſums from us, and who have it in their power to diſappoint us of them, perhaps, when they become moſt neceſſary to us.

It is impolitic to import American commodities from other nations.

Seeing then, from the preceding account of the colonies, England may be ſupplied from thence with ſome of the moſt valuable commodities, ſuch as raw ſilk from Georgia, for her own manufactures; hemp for cordage, iron for various arts, a great abundance of naval ſtores of all kinds from Pennſylvania, Carolina,

Carolina, New-Jerſey, New-York, and New-England, as planks, timber, maſt, yards, and all materials for ſhip-building, it is a reflection on our politics to expend our money with other nations for theſe articles. For hemp, indeed, exported from the plantations a bounty has lately been allowed by parliament, from which England will unqueſtionably derive great benefit to herſelf. The ſame encouragement will produce the ſame good effect in regard to iron and pot-aſhes. A bounty allowed on theſe articles, though inconſiderable, muſt ſoon be reimburſed manifold, by ſaving vaſt ſums of money yearly remitted to foreigners for theſe commodities.

Pitch, tar and turpentine.

The bounty allowed upon pitch, tar and turpentine, has brought the price of theſe commodities in England to ten ſhillings ſterling a barrel, which uſed to amount fifty ſhillings; for which too was paid ready money. This regulation therefore prevents five times the ſum of its coſt from going out of the kingdom to Sweden and other northern powers, and aids the colonies to make returns for the immenſe quantity of goods ſent to them from England.

England. The above articles now come ſo cheap to the ſhip-builders of Great-Britain, that the charge is hardly felt by them; and the bounty that is paid by the nation on the importation of thoſe commodities, is doubly repaid by leſſening the proportion between the importation and exportation that was againſt us in theſe articles, which is called the ballance of trade.* "It is agreed by all who pretend to underſtand trade, ſays judge Littleton, that a country does then grow rich, and then only, when the commodities exported out of it are of more value than thoſe that are imported into it." † It is but wiſdom therefore in Britain to encourage the raiſing of every commodity in America, of which ſhe ſtands in need herſelf, or which may increaſe the ballance of trade in her favour.

Ballance of trade, what.

And here we may properly take notice of the conſiderable advantages derived from an interchange of manufactures and commodities between Great-Britain and America. The labour that is neceſſary in manufactures, the expenſive

Benefits of an interchange of manufactures and commodities.

* Introduction to the Britiſh empire in America.

† Judge Littleton's Treatiſe on the groans of the plantations.

expenſive carriage and different hands they paſs through, muſt greatly heighten their value. Whilſt commodities generally employ but one ſet of people, manufactures employ many. They afford a ſubſiſtence to the poor, collect people into villages, extend the buildings of towns and cities, improve the ſoil, enhance the property of landlords, and create a conſiderable intercourſe between artificers and merchants. The conſumers of Engliſh woollen manufactures in America, are obliged to pay about 75 per cent. advance on the firſt coſt, by way of profit to the different hands, which theſe manufactures paſs thro' before they arrive to them, viz. To the woolſtapler, the clothier, the woollen draper, the merchants in England and America, for freight and inſurance, and to the retailer. This calculation is made by an ingenious and intelligent merchant of Philadelphia, well verſed in this ſubject. Whence it appears, that manufactures are not more valuable in themſelves, than from the number of perſons they ſupport.

Value of the manufactures from the hands they paſs

The export of American commodities recommended.

Hence it follows likewiſe, that while Great-Britain is employed in manufactures,

America

America ought to be encouraged in raiſing all ſorts of commodities, and exporting them to Britain. By which means the mother country will be ſupplied with materials for carrying on her manufactures, and the Colonies be enabled to purchaſe thoſe manufactures of which they ſtand in need; and thus they will become reciprocally neceſſary to each other.

The trade of America with England.

It is judged, that the whole trade of America to all parts of the globe employs, one year with another, above two thouſand ſail of Engliſh ſhips, by which treaſures of greater wealth are conveyed to Britain, than are derived from Mexico or Peru. The amount of the caſh and bills of exchange, and of the commodities ſent to England in payment for her goods, and of the duties on theſe commodities, cannot be leſs than two millions yearly. From the commodities of America, chiefly manufactured in England, and conveyed through innumerable channels of trade to every quarter of the globe, Great-Britain acquires immenſe wealth, keeps up a ſpirit of induſtry among her inhabitants, and is enabled to ſupport mighty fleets, great in peace and formidable in war.

The American colonies advantageous to Britain in time of war.

But further, the American colonies are not only very beneficial to the trade of Britain in time of peace, but are highly advantageous to her in caſe of war with France or Spain, the moſt common and natural enemies of Britain. The very ſituation of the Britiſh iſlands in America renders it eaſy to annoy thoſe of the French or Spaniards. The continental colonies too, on an emergency, are able to furniſh many thouſand brave men, who, when joined by any body of regular forces from England, and convoyed by a Britiſh ſquadron, would effectually ſhake the French and Spaniſh dominions both in North and South America. This has been done, and may be done again, when any future provocation calls them to unite their force with that of Britain againſt their common enemy. Thus it appears, I think, with the higheſt degree of evidence, that Britain owes much of her well-being, her riches and her power, to her American colonies. 'Tis from her union with them ſhe draws the ſinews of war, whereby ſhe is enabled to conquer and preſcribe terms of peace to her enemies, and to fix her glory upon a ſure and laſting baſis.

But

It is the intereſt of the American colonies to perpetuate their union with Great-Britain.

But if, from what has been ſaid, it appears to be the intereſt of Britain to perpetuate her union with her colonies in America, it will appear no leſs manifeſt, by the ſequel, that it is the intereſt of thoſe colonies to perpetuate their union with Britain.

Proved from the ſupport and commerce of England.

The American colonies, by the ſupport and commerce of Britain, have emerged, as it were, out of darkneſs into light, and in leſs than two centuries have become a numerous and happy people. Between two and three millions, at leaſt, of ſubjects, by tranſplantation from Europe, and by natural increaſe, now inhabit theſe colonies. For this increaſe of numbers, wealth and power, they are indebted originally to Britain, from whence they derived their mild government, their equal laws, and ſecure property. Muſt they not then naturally deſire a perpetual union with their mother country, whilſt they taſte the ſweets of Britiſh liberty, and enjoy the advantages of her trade and commerce.

The demand for Britiſh manufactures.

And this leads me to mention another reaſon why the colonies ſhould wiſh to perpetuate their union with Britain, viz. the conſiderable benefit which they derive from the Britiſh manufactures. The price of labour,

in America is too great to allow the inhabitants to manufacture for themſelves. They ſupply all their wants from Britain, and are enabled to make good remittances by their commodities, which might otherwiſe lie uſeleſs on their hands.

And the advantageous alliance of America with Great-Britain.

Again, were the American colonies to be conſidered as having no union or connection with Britain, what power could ſecure them from her conquering arm, whenever ſhe was diſpoſed to ſtretch it forth? But while the Union is perpetuated between them, and the colonies are conſidered as a part of the Britiſh empire, Britain ſurely, by her formidable fleets, and brave and diſciplined armies, could afford them ſpeedy ſuccour in the day of danger, and effectually ſecure them from the hoſtile attempts of any power in Europe. I aſk once more then, muſt not the colonies naturally deſire a perpetual union with their mother country, ſince it is from her they enjoy the ſweets of Britiſh liberty, the advantages of Britiſh commerce, and the protection of Britiſh power.

An erroneous principle conſidered.

I have ſaid the leſs of the importance of Great-Britain to the American colonies, becauſe

cauſe this is a ſubject, upon which every writer ſeems to be agreed; whereas there have been ſome narrow, ſhort ſighted politicians, who have attempted to diminiſh the importance of the colonies to Great-Britain. 'Tis for this reaſon, that I have entered upon a more minute detail of the latter, and have moreover ſubjoined to the end of this diſſertation, an Appendix, containing a ſummary view of the American commerce, the produce and exports of the ſeveral colonies, whereby the national ſtock is ſo conſiderably augmented.

Concluſions to be drawn from this view of commerce.

Thus have I endeavoured to point out the reciprocal advantages of a perpetual union between Great-Britain and her Colonies, from a particular view of the nature and extent of the commerce that ſubſiſts between them, and the vaſt acceſſions of wealth and power which they reciprocally derive from that commerce. I have ſhewn how neceſſary they are to one another, and that they muſt ſuffer and decline in proportion as the preſent union betwixt them is weakened or deſtroyed. I have only to add further, under this head, a few obſervations upon the moſt probable methods of preſerving and perpetuating this union.

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The ſureſt means of preſerving this union conſidered on the part of Great-Britain.

With reſpect to Great-Britain, I think, the ſureſt method ſhe can take to preſerve this union inviolate, is to conſider the intereſts of America as her own, to encourage the willing obedience of a dutiful and loyal people, by equal laws and a free and open commerce, rather than attempt, by unequal laws and too ſevere reſtrictions, to force an an unwilling ſubjection. The ballance of trade will return more clear money from the American colonies, than can be extorted from them either by armies, taxes or tribute. "It is more ſafe, as well as virtuous, to accept the chaſte embraces of conjugal affection, than by violence to extort forbidden pleaſures, which commonly fail of expectations."*

Impolitic reſtrictions of trade.

It is an ill-judged policy, therefore, which would prevent the colonies from enriching themſelves by trade at the expence of their neighbours. For theſe are only the channels through which the riches of foreign nations are poured into the coffers of Britain. And if theſe channels are once dried up, the watchful enemies and rivals of Britain would ſoon avail themſelves of our errors. Commerce, once forced from her wonted courſe, is ſeldom

* Cato's Letters.

ſeldom or never brought into it again. Foreigners would ſoon uſurp our trade, and thrive in proportion as we decline.

What is, or ought to be the end of government, and common ſtandard of action.

To ſecure the liberty and property of all its ſubjects is, or ought to be, the end of every government. So long as this end is kept in view, ſo long are the people united by the firmeſt bond of ſociety, the intereſt of the whole. This end muſt be the common ſtandard, by which the particular actions of the ſeveral members towards each other ought to be regulated. Particular ranks of men have particular feelings peculiar to themſelves, and often contrary to the intereſts and feelings of the reſt of the ſociety, and therefore have no right to make, and much leſs to impoſe laws on their fellow-ſubjects, inconſiſtent with and oppoſite to thoſe intereſts and thoſe feelings; therefore a ſociety, government or real public, muſt conſiſt of freemen, chuſing or conſenting to laws themſelves. "To watch over ſuch a ſyſtem, and to promote its good as much as lies in our power, to reſiſt every encroachment on it, and to defend it to the utmoſt, is the political duty of every citizen*." But to

* See Preceptor, Vol. 2, on Ethics.

to ſacrifice the intereſt of one part to thoſe of another part weakens the affection of ſubjects, in as much as the preſervation of our rights, the ſecurity of our perſons, liberties and property, on the one hand, and obedience to government, on the other hand, are the reciprocal duties of the rulers and ruled.

viz. The general intereſt of the whole community.

If the ſuperſtructure of a government be raiſed on any other foundation than the general intereſt of the whole community, it can not be durable. Like the image of Daniel's viſion, the head whereof was of fine gold, the belly and thighs of braſs, the legs of iron, and the feet part of iron and part of clay, which cannot cleave together, it muſt, when ſmote upon, be broken to pieces. But the conſtitution of a country, in which the happineſs of the whole community is regarded, is like a firm oak that withſtands the fury of the jarring elements rouſed up into a ſtorm, fixes its roots deeper in its native earth, and lifts its majeſtic head to the ſkies. Whilſt this principle is kept up in its full vigour, it will endure the ſhocks of contending nations, and be ſtill more firmly eſtabliſhed. It will yield to nought but time, before which the "Sun himſelf ſhall fail, and nature ſink in "years."

When

When the public is ſafe and trade encouraged, every man participates of the common felicity, and has means of acquiring property. The riches of a good King conſiſt in the wealth of his ſubjects. The affections of his people are his ſecurity and happineſs. All they poſſeſs, their fortune and property, are at his diſpoſal, becauſe they are employed to ſecure both him and themſelves. A wiſe government ought therefore to ſecure the poſſeſſion of property, and raiſe no taxes but what they ſhall ſee a real neceſſity for doing, and continue them no longer than that neceſſity requires. It ſhould be done in a manner moſt agreeable to the ſentiments of the people, who beſt know what they can endure; for a virtuous and public ſpirit, a ſpirit of Liberty, is the chief, if not the only ſupport of a country.*

Which is the happineſs and ſupport of a country.

Should any ignorant or ſelfiſh politicians in the mother country ever have influence enough to get ſuch laws enacted, as would bear hard upon the liberty or property of the Colonies; this meaſure would doubtleſs have a natural tendency to ſow the ſeeds of diſ-

An oppoſite conduct in what reſpect pernicious.

* See Cato's letters on the ſubject of Liberty.

content among them, and to alienate their affections. Inſtead of conſidering Britain then as connected with them by the natural ties of a mother country, they would begin to look upon her as a foreign power treating them as her tributaries, and attempting to enſlave them. For the ſamē noble ſpirit of freedom, which actuates an Engliſhman, born in the iſland of Britain, beats in every pulſe and pants in every breaſt of the Britiſh ſubjects in America. Add to this, the colonies were ſettled upon a preſumption, that the ſame extenſive privileges, which were originally granted to them, ſhould not in after-times be contracted or withdrawn. When Great-Britain has attained to ſuch a pitch of grandeur by the induſtry and ſucceſs of her Colonies, as hath rendered her the admiration and envy of her neighbours, would it be conſiſtent with the maxims of juſtice, for her to reſume the privileges ſhe has granted, under which they have ſo amazingly flouriſhed, and which they have never forfeited? No, the rights of Americans are eſtabliſhed on the ſame foundation with thoſe of Britain herſelf. She cannot violate them, without, at the ſame time, undermining her own conſtitution; and

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the ſame ſword that is ſheathed in the bowels of America muſt inevitably pierce the vitals of Britain too. Far other returns, however, may be hoped for by a people, whoſe commerce has proved ſo beneficial to Britain; who have, at the expence of ſo much treaſure and ſo much blood, aſſiſted her in gaining a compleat aſcendency over their common enemy. They are a people too, who contributed much by their bravery in a former war, to procure an honourable and unlooked-for peace to their mother country, when ſhe was of herſelf in no condition to preſcribe her own terms *.

A violation of the American rights impolitic.

Thus it appears, that the moſt effectual method, which Great Britain can take to perpetuate her union with the colonies, is to continue them in the full exerciſe of thoſe liberties and privileges, both with reſpect to commerce and taxes, which they have hitherto enjoyed; and to do nothing that can juſtly

* The iſland of Cape-Breton, which was eſteemed the Dunkirk of America, was taken by the troops of New-England, with little or no aſſiſtance from home; and this was all the Engliſh had to reſtore to France at the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, 1748, for the reſtitution of Bergen op-zoom to her allies, and for other terms of peace.

be looked upon as a violation of their rights, which might end in a breach of this desirable union.

The method by which the colonies may preserve the present union.

With respect to the colonies, the surest method they can take to preserve inviolate their union with Britain is, upon every occasion, to demonstrate their loyalty to the best of kings, and their subordination to the government of Great-Britain, by exerting their united efforts, in the support and defence of the dignity of the British crown, and the rights of the British parliament; and by chearfully and constantly submitting to the just determination of the grand council of the realm. A conduct opposite to this would make them forfeit the rights of sons, and justly bring upon them the indignation and chastisement of the mother country.

The effects of such a conduct.

These are the methods, which to me appear most likely to perpetuate the glorious union between Great-Britain and her colonies, which will ensure strength and success to the common cause, and baffle every attempt of their enemies to injure or molest them. Thus will the commerce, riches and power of Britain, be carried to an envied pitch

pitch of greatneſs, and as far ſurpaſs what they now are, as they do at this day exceed what they were, before Great-Britain could boaſt of a colony.

Benefits of this union to religion and the proteſtant intereſt.

I have enlarged ſo much upon the advantages of a perpetual union between Great-Britain and her colonies, collected from a view of the nature and extent of the commerce that ſubſiſts between them, and the immenſe acceſſion of riches and power, which they reciprocally enjoy from that commerce, that I can now ſay but little of the glorious proſpect, which this union preſents to us, in the promotion of the proteſtant religion, which they profeſs, and extended the goſpel, in its purity, throughout the vaſt benighted regions of the weſtern world.

Superior to that of mere commerce, &c.

This conſideration is indeed as far ſuperior to that which I have hitherto dwelt upon, as things eternal are to thoſe of a mere temporal nature. One relates to the greateſt of this world's good, even liberty and property. The other extends to a future and eternal world; and is employed upon ſuch objects as are moſt likely to ſecure the happy enjoyment of it. 'Tis the glory of Britain, that ſhe enjoys both theſe advantages in the higheſt degree;

gree; that the means of preſerving the former is ſecured to her by the beſt *civil* conſtitution, and the means of obtaining the latter by the beſt *religious* eſtabliſhment in the world.

By the ſpreading of the goſpel.

With the ſons of Britain the proteſtant religion was tranſplanted into the colonies. It has taken root, grown and flouriſhed in the kindly ſoil. It has already become a fair and lofty tree, and, if it is ſtill well nurtured and ſufficiently watered, it may ere long extend its boughs beyond the ſetting ſun, even to the verge of the eaſtern world, and perhaps ſhelter the native country from whence it originally ſprung. Thus Britain has already been an happy inſtrument in the hands of heaven, of bearing the tidings of the goſpel to one of the darkeſt corners of the globe, to nations, who had long ſat in darkneſs and the ſhadow of death. By perpetuating an union with her colonies, ſhe may likewiſe, through them, carry theſe glad tidings further ſtill, even to the utmoſt ends of the earth, and thus haſten, if I may ſo ſpeak, that glorious period, when "righteouſneſs ſhall overflow the earth as the waters cover the ſeas;" and when all the kingdoms of the world ſhall become the kingdoms of the Lord and of his Chriſt.

If

If ſuch, then, are to be the happy conſequences of this glorious union, ſhould not every American, every Britiſh proteſtant, ardently wiſh and pray, that it may be faithfully and inviolably preſerved and continued "as long as the Sun and Moon endure?" Conclusion.

Conclusion.

If such, then, are to be the happy consequences of this glorious union, should not every American, every British protestant, ardently wish and pray, that it may be faithfully and inviolably preserved and continued as long as the Sun and Moon endure?"

APPENDIX.

Containing a general view of the trade of the American Colonies, their produce, exports, &c. chiefly extracted from approved hiſtories and authentic memoirs.

IN this Appendix, to obſerve ſome order, I ſhall begin with an account of the Britiſh ſettlements to the Northward; and firſt with Newfoundland. This great Iſland, which is above three hundred miles long and two hundred broad, forms the Eaſtern boundary of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and extends from thence Southward near ten degrees of latitude, along the eaſtward part of Nova-Scotia. It is chiefly valuable for the great Fiſhery upon thoſe ſhoals, which are called the Banks of Newfoundland. The plenty of Cod, and ſeveral other ſpecies of fiſh here, is almoſt inconceivable, as well as along the ſhores of the iſland of Cape-Breton, the coaſts Nova-Scotia and New-England, which pours in

Newfoundland, its Fiſhery.

a treaſure of riches on Great-Britain: Our ſhare of the Newfoundland fiſhery was formerly computed to increaſe the national ſtock at leaſt three hundred thouſand pounds ſterling a year in gold and ſilver, remitted for the cod we ſell in the different parts of Europe, in Spain, Portugal, Italy and the Levant, &c.* of how much more wealth muſt it be productive at preſent to the mother country, as Newfoundland and Nova-Scotia belong now ſo entirely to Great-Britain? The advantages which attend an extenſive and well managed fiſhery are great and obvious. The ſea may be conſidered as a mine out of which the treaſure is taken at a very little expence, and even that expence is advantageous, ſince it promotes ſeveral manufactures, and goes entirely amongſt our own people. Fiſh is a valuable commodity, both at home and abroad. According to ſome writers, the Dutch make more of their fiſhery in our ſeas, than the Spaniards do by the Weſt-Indies. Beſides, this fiſhery, properly attended to, would infallibly furniſh us with a conſtant ſupply of experienced, active and healthy ſailors

* See Account of European ſettlements in America, by Dodſley.

ſailors for manning our fleets; the gradual increaſe of which would prove not only a conſtant and inexhauſtible ſource of wealth, and add to the ballance of trade in our favour, but augment our maritime force, to a degree that would make us a match for all Europe in naval power. *

Nova-Scotia.

Adjacent to Newfoundland is the country of Nova-Scotia, which, although the progreſs of it was at firſt but ſlow, is now become a conſiderable ſettlement, and is a very advantageous place for fiſhing. Twenty-five thouſand quintals of fiſh have been caught there in one year. †

New-England.

But much more conſiderable is the colony of New-England. This colony is in length near three hundred miles, and in ſome part near two hundred miles in breadth, lying between the forty-firſt and forty-fifth degrees of North latitude, and compriſes the four provinces of Maſſachuſets-Bay, Connecticut, Rhode-Iſland and New-Hampſhire.

Its fiſhery.

There is a noble cod-fiſhery on this coaſt, which employs a vaſt number of their people,

* Preceptor. † Britiſh Empire in America.

and proves a very conſiderable article of trade. They are enabled by this to export annually above thirty thouſand quintals of choice cod-fiſh to Spain, Italy and the Mediterranean, and near twenty thouſand quintals of the refuſe ſort to the Weſt Indies, as food for the negroes, beſides a large quantity to Madeira and Fyal, for wines and brandy.

Its trade. The buſineſs of ſhip-building is one of the moſt conſiderable which Boſton, or the other ſea-port towns in New-England carry on. This country has materials enough to build ſhips for half the employment of Britain. It can furniſh the trade and navy too with naval ſtores, for the ſupplies of which from the Baltic, two or three hundred thouſand pounds ſterling annually was wont to be expended. In their trade to foreign parts, the profits of their voyage are generally received in bills of exchange upon London, or in returns of goods through the hands of Engliſh factors. By this circuitous commerce, they pay in Great-Britain for various ſorts of goods got from thence, to the amount of ſome hundred thouſand pounds ſterling a year. Although their commerce is not carried on immediately with Great-

Great-Britain, nor with Britiſh veſſels, yet here the profits chiefly center, where all the money, which the colonies, can make in any manner, muſt center at laſt. Pot-aſhes, a moſt neceſſary article in manufactures, particularly in bleaching, as many thouſand barrels are annually conſumed for this one purpoſe in Ireland, have, within theſe few years, proved a very advantageous article of trade in ſeveral of the colonies, particularly in New-England, and is likely to become a very valuable and growing remittance to the mother country. The amount of the pot-aſhes exported home from New-England only, within the laſt twelve months, is ſaid to be not leſs than thirty thouſand pounds ſterling; and it is imagined that the quantity this year will ariſe to a much more conſiderable ſum. The ſpirit of gain which the making of pot-aſhes has already inſpired, it is probable, will every year continue to render this manufacture an object of much greater importance to America than has been generally imagined. Near ſix hundred ſail of ſhips have been laden in a year for Europe and the Britiſh plantations. From Chriſtmas 1747, to Chriſtmas 1748, five hundred veſſels cleared out from the port of Boſton only, for

a foreign

a foreign trade, and four hundred and thirty were entered inwards. Great is the advantage therefore of the New-England trade and navigation, if only conſidered as a nurſery of ſeamen; how much more by conſidering the addition it makes to the national ſtock? †

New-York, New-Jerſey, and Pennſylvania, their trade.

The three contiguous provinces, viz. New-York, New-Jerſey and Pennſylvania, to the Southward of New-England, are with very little difference the ſame in their climate, productions, and the commodities in which they trade; the ſoil being in general very fertile, abounding not only in its native grain, the Indian corn, but few parts of the world exceed theſe provinces in the abundance and excellence of their wheat, barley, rye, oats, buck-wheat, &c.

Great quantities of flax and hemp are raiſed in theſe provinces. Mines of iron have been opened in them all, and a rich mine of copper has been ſucceſsfully worked in Eaſt-Jerſey, which may prove highly advantageous to the manufactures of Great-Britain. The trade of theſe provinces to the Weſt-Indies is very con-

† Hiſtory of the Britiſh empire in America.

conſiderable in proviſions, hides, tallow, lumber and ſoap, &c. for which they can procure ſugars, and from this find ſome reſource of making remittance to England for the goods they get from thence. They carry on a trade alſo with Spain, Portugal, Italy, Madeira and Fyal; they trade likewiſe to England and Ireland in hemp, flax-ſeed, linſeed-oil, furs, and deer-ſkins. Flax-ſeed is a very promiſing article of commerce; as Ireland muſt be dependant on the American colonies for an annual ſupply. In times of ſcarcity, prodigious quantities of wheat are ſhipped to England and Ireland, as well as to other parts of Europe. Thus the Americans ſend home to their fellow-ſubjects of Great-Britain, both goods to increaſe the national ſtock, and alſo bread for their ſubſiſtence *. The importations from England into the province of Pennſylvania only, it is eſtimated, hath in ſeveral years amounted to more than half a million ſterling *per annum*.†

And

* Amongſt the ſeveral acts which paſſed the houſe of commons, and gained his Majeſty's royal aſſent, the laſt ſeſſions of parliament, is an Act for allowing the importation of Wheat from America, duty free, for a limited time.

† Memorial of the merchants and traders of the city of Philadelphia.

There cannot be leſs than ſeven or eight hundred ſail of ſhips annually employed to keep up the extenſive trade of theſe provinces.

Maryland and Virginia, which are to the ſouthward of Pennſylvania, agree very much in their ſoil and product.

Trade of Maryland, and Virginia.

Tobacco is the ſtanding commodity of both theſe colonies. A late ſenſible writer computes that there are ſhipped from theſe places annually, 90,000 hogſheads of Tabacco at an average of 952 weight each; 30,000 of theſe are expended in home conſumption, the duty of each is twenty-ſeven pounds ſterling, and the amount of the whole duty on them is above eight hundred thouſand pounds; and of the remaining 60,000 hogſheads, after the imports and part of the ſubſidy are drawn back, about one-fifth of the ſum is produced into the Exchequer from every hogſhead that is re-exported, which is above three hundred thouſand pounds more. The whole amount for the cuſtoms of tobacco, is more than a million. Such is the immenſe advantage which

which the Mother Country derives from the article of Tobacco alone, which ſhe gets from her Colonies.‖

North and South-Carolina.

North and South-Carolina, to the Southward of Virginia, lye between the thirty-firſt and thirty-ſixth degrees of North latitude, in a very fine climate.

The trade of Carolina has three great ſtaple commodities, Rice, Indigo, and Naval Stores, which it yields more abundantly than all the reſt of our Colonies. Rice antiently formed by itſelf the ſtaple of Carolina. The export of this commodity from Charleſtown, in the year 1731, amounted only to 41,957 barrels. In a few years afterwards, the product of it was computed to return to Great-Britain at leaſt £. 80,000 *per annum*, including freight and commiſſions, which are the moſt profitable articles in the Britiſh commerce. In the year 1754, the export of Rice from Charleſtown, amounted to 104, 682 barrels. In the year 1757, this branch of commerce was

F computed

‖ See Conſiderations on the propriety of impoſing taxes on the Britiſh Colonies, for raſing a revenue by act of Parliament; and alſo a Computation by Sir Thomas Dally, in the Hiſtory of the Britiſh Empire in America.

computed to be annually worth, at the loweſt eſtimation, £. 150, 000 ſterling. Great has been its increaſe ſince; and we may well reckon it to be at this time worth £. 200,000 ſterling.

It was long before Carolina went into the profitable trade of Indigo; they began it ſince the year 1750, and in the year 1754, was exported from Charleſtown, to the amount of above 200,000 lb. weight; and 500,000 lb. weight was made in the year 1757. If the inhabitants continue to improve the advantages with the ſame ſpirit in which they have begun, they muſt naturally and neceſſarily come to ſupply the whole conſumption of the world with this commodity, and conſequently make their country the richeſt part of the Britiſh dominions.‖

Georgia. To the Southward of Carolina, on the borders of Florida, was erected the province of Georgia, in 1732.

Georgia is of importance at preſent, and will be of future benefit to England, by raiſing raw Silk; the goodneſs of its Silk has been tried by a proper engine, and according to Sir

‖ See Account of European Settlements printed by Dodſley.

Sir Thomas Lombe, is better than the fineſt Silk of Piedmont, for which half a million a year has been paid. Pot-aſhes too has been imported from hence to England, beſides Peltry, Drugs and Dyers ware of ſeveral ſorts.

We come next to the Spaniſh ſettlement of St. Auguſtine, to the Southward of Georgia. It belongs now to the Engliſh, as well as Canada and Louiſiana, by the laſt treaty of peace; ſo that they claim the whole of North-America upon the Atlantic ſea. St. Auguſtine.

We ſhall ſay nothing of the newly formed Colonies in Florida, as being but yet in their infancy, or of the ſettlements in Hudſon's-Bay, as not very conſiderable hitherto; but how great muſt be the advantage of trade with the Indians in Canada and Louiſiana, now ceded to the Engliſh, which encouraged and enabled the French to hem in all the Engliſh Colonies, by a chain of forts on their back ſettlements, extended in a tract of above 2000 miles? ‖

Canada borders to the Northward upon the provinces of Nova-Scotia, New-England and

‖ See Account of the Britiſh Settlements in America, and Hiſtory of the Britiſh Empire in America.

New-York. It is the oldeſt of all the French eſtabliſhments, and prior to the ſettlement of New-England. Quebec is the capital of this province. It is built on the river St. Lawrence, upon which are the principle ſettlements of this Colony. A vaſt trade already is, and a much greater may in time be carried on with the Indians, on the prodigious freſh water Lakes, of which there are five in number, in extent to be conſidered as ſo many ſeas. They communicate with one another, and the laſt of them with the river St. Lawrence, which effectually commands the trade of the Lakes, and has an influence upon all the nations of Indians which confine upon them.

Of the Weſt-Indies.

The principle produce of the Weſt-Indies is Sugar. It is amazing what riches have been acquired to England by this commodity, and what a ſurprizingly great number of ſhips are employed in the trade, eſpecially of Barbados and Jamaica. This laſt place is of great conſequence to annoy the enemy, in time of war with France or Spain. No plate fleet from Carthagena can arrive at the Havannah, which is the general place of rendezvous for the Flota, without paſſing by one end of Jamaica,

maica. Whilſt we continue maſters of theſe ſeas, we ſhall always have it in our power to prevent the junction, and greatly diſtreſs them. In time of peace, the trade is of no leſs conſequence in drawing from the Spaniards great ſums of money.

If the Sugar Iſlands are of ſuch conſequence to England, on account of the great trade, ſhipping, and number of hands employed, the perſons ſubſiſted thereby, and the cuſtoms and impoſts they pay; the importance of the Colonies on the continent of North-America is enhanced from their ſupplying the Weſt-Indies with Lumber and proviſions of all ſorts.

In whatever light we view the connection between Great-Britain and her American Colonies; the reciprocal advantages of the preſent union almoſt exceed computation, and yet fall every way far ſhort of thoſe immenſe benefits which will accrue to both, from this union being rendered firm and perpetual. Concluſion.

End of the APPENDIX.

A N

ESSAY

On the reciprocal ADVANTAGES

OF A

PERPETUAL UNION

BETWEEN

GREAT-BRITAIN

AND

Her *AMERICAN* Colonies.

By *STEPHEN WATTS*, M. A.

ADVERTISEMENT to the Reader.

THE author is very ſenſible, that it would have been proper, in compoſing the following Eſſay, to have conſulted with gentlemen who reſide in the ſeveral places he had occaſion to ſpeak of, and are well acquainted with the nature and extent of their commerce. Would the time, allowed for theſe performances, have afforded him an opportunity of procuring ſuch information, he flatters himſelf his piece would have been more *original*, with reſpect to matters of trade, and more worthy of public notice. He would have been thereby enabled to form a more exact eſtimate of the *preſent* ſtate of trade in Great-Britain and America. Depriv'd of this advantage, he was obliged to have recourſe to commercial writers, amongſt whom he is chiefly indebted to Gee and Beawes. And when it is conſidered, that few perſons, though of far greater abilities and experience in the commercial world than the author, would be able of their own knowledge to furniſh an adequate account of every material branch in the Britiſh and American trade, he cannot deſpair of the reader's indulgence.

DISSERTATION II.

THE ſituation of Great-Britain, ſeparated from the reſt of the world by the ſurrounding ocean, and deſtitute of thoſe endleſs reſources, which an extent of continent affords its inhabitants, very early ſuggeſted to judicious and obſerving men, that a naval force would be the eaſieſt and moſt ſure means of her defence, againſt foreign encroachments. The great Alfred, of glorious and immortal memory, was fully convinced of this important truth. He knew, by ſad experience, that the want of ſuch a force had ſubjected the iſland to the inſults and depredations of the Danes, and other Northern robbers. Animated with affection for his ſubjects, and fir'd with a juſt reſentment of the injuries they had received, he reſolved, if poſſible, to ſupply ſuch a fatal defect. By equipping, with incredible expedition, a fleet, conſiderable in

thoſe days, he rendered himſelf maſter of the ſea, and freed his people from the dread of being plundered. But in a few years, this beneficial, this glorious project, unſupported by a ſufficient fund, was almoſt entirely laid aſide. The inhabitants, employed in the exerciſe of arms, or agriculture, and raiſing what was barely neceſſary for their own ſubſiſtance, could not poſſibly defray the expence of having a fleet always in readineſs. The Danes, taking advantage of their remiſſneſs in this important affair, ſoon over-run and ſubdued the greateſt part of the iſland; but inattentive to a leſſon, which their own ſucceſs might have taught them, they, in their turn, fell a prey to an innundation of Normans.

Thus the Britiſh navy, though ſeveral attempts were made to render it reſpectable by monarchs, who underſtood their own intereſt, continued, nevertheleſs, to make no great figure, till the reign of queen Elizabeth. Till this time alſo the trade of England was very ſmall, and contracted within a narrow compaſs. It conſiſted chiefly in exporting Tin, Lead, Wool, and a few other articles, which ſerved to purchaſe what foreign goods were wanted.

wanted. That wiſe queen, aſſiſted by a wiſe and experienced miniſtry, diſcovered the grand ſecret unknown to her predeceſſors; they knew the advantages of a fleet, but the conſequent expences they knew not how to defray. An extenſive commerce was now very judiciouſly conſidered as the only ſource adequate to ſuch large and continual diſburſements. This it was thought, would not only afford a ſupply of money, ſufficient to equip and maintain a powerful navy, but would alſo be a ſchool or nurſery of ſeamen.

On theſe conſiderations, encouragement was given to the perſecuted Walloons to remove and ſettle in England. They very willingly embraced an opportunity of tranſporting themſelves to a land of freedom, and brought with them the Woollen manufactory, which, favoured with the countenance and protection of a wiſe government, ſoon arrived at great perfection. In purſuance of the ſame plan, a trade was opened to Turkey, Muſcovy, the Eaſt-Indies, and almoſt every conſiderable country in the known world. Under the auſpices of the ſame queen, plantations were begun in America, and proſe-

cuted with vigour. They at firſt met with nearly inſuperable difficulties; nevertheleſs, by the indefatigable induſtry and perſeverance of the planters, and the generous aſſiſtance of their mother Country, thoſe difficulties were ſurmounted, and the Colonies brought to a pitch of greatneſs, that, conſidering the ſhort time of their growth, is almoſt incredible.

I have taken this retroſpect in order to ſhew, that the Britiſh Trade, the Britiſh Navy, and the Britiſh Colonies in America, ſprung up together. They are moſt nearly allied, being children of the ſame good policy; and it is worthy the notice and attention of every politician, who ſtudies to promote his country's welfare, that as they had their riſe at the ſame time, they have ever ſince continued to increaſe and flouriſh in proportion. Their dependence is mutual, and if either of them be affected, the others ſooner or later will feel it in a very ſenſible manner.

Great has been my ſurprize at the ignorance or malevolence of ſeveral late productions. The writers of them, either blinded by paſſion, or employed and inſtigated by the enemies

enemies of the Britiſh empire, have endeavoured to ſow diſcord and diſſention between the mother country and her American Colonies. Some have ſtrove to render the coloniſts ſuſpected, by repreſenting them as an ungrateful, licentious people, aiming at independence, and impatient of any ſubordination to Great-Britain; whilſt others, no leſs enemies to the welfare and proſperity of both, would excite their jealouſy, by undervaluing the aſſiſtance ſhe has offered them, and placing her in the light of a cruel Stepmother.

I am too well convinced of the good ſenſe of my countrymen, both of Britain and America, to imagine them capable of being deluded by ſuch partial repreſentations. Conſidering themſelves as members of one grand body politic, they will naturally conclude, that the good of the whole muſt reſult from a due connection and harmony of all the parts; and from the mutual exchange and intercourſe of friendly offices. Nevertheleſs, as this point ſeems to have been controverted, a few obſervations, tending to evince, that a "perpetual Union between Great-Britain and her American Colonies, will be mutually and

reciprocally

reciprocally advantageous," may not be leſs agreeable, than neceſſary, in the preſent Diſſertation.

This is a ſubject, the moſt truly important and intereſting, which can claim a Briton's notice, and does honour to that worthy gentleman who propos'd its diſcuſſion by the Sons of this Seminary. Struck with its vaſt delicacy and importance, and conſcious of inability to treat it in a manner ſuited to its dignity, I had almoſt declin'd the arduous taſk; but it is a glory even to fail in great attempts; and if I ſhould afford a hint to ſome abler pen, or contribute to remove the ſmalleſt prejudice, I ſhall think myſelf extremely happy in being ſo far beneficial to the public.

We have already obſerved, that the defence, the ſtrength and glory of Britain, principally depend on her Navy; and that her Navy can only be maintained by Trade and Commerce. Theſe are points too plain to be denied or diſputed by the moſt obſtinate and perverſe ſceptic: and it is a very natural inference from theſe premiſes, that whatever contributes to enlarge and extend her commerce, is highly advantageous to Great-Britain.

It muſt likewiſe be acknowledged, that new ſettlements and young countries ſtand in need of the aſſiſtance and protection of ſome powerful commercial ſtate. Deſtitute of theſe, they would be expoſed to the attacks of lawleſs invaders, for want of ſtrength to defend themſelves, and to the inclemency of weather for want of proper cloathing; for manufactures cannot be brought to any degree of perfection, or extended to advantage, except in well-ſettled countries; although agriculture, where the land is tolerably fertile, and the ſettlement ſecure, may enable the inhabitants to procure the neceſſary manufactures in return for its productions.

I hope therefore to make it appear, that a reciprocal emolument will ariſe from a perpetual union between Britain and her American Colonies; as ſhe may by their means greatly enlarge her trade and commerce, and become ſtill more rich and powerful; and as they will reap the advantage of her riches and power, by being protected from their enemies, and ſupplied with the conveniences of life at a cheaper rate, and of a better quality than if manufactured by themſeves.

If

If we take a ſurvey of the commerce of Britain, we ſhall find it extended to almoſt every part of the known world; there is ſcarcely any place conſiderable for trade, that is not viſited by her adventurous merchants. The means which have enabled her to acquire, and ſupport with dignity and advantage ſuch large mercantile connections, are to be ſought for in her various manufactories; amongſt which the Woollen is univerſally allowed the preference. Commercial writers have taken much pains to enumerate the particular kinds of Britiſh manufactures; to ſhew their mutual dependance, and wherein the peculiar advantage of each conſiſts. As their works are in every one's hands, it is the leſs neceſſary for me to repeat their ſubſtance, and to particularize the articles which contribute to ſupport the trade of Britain.

But there are two branches of commerce, which, though not ſo generally attended to, are nevertheleſs moſt highly beneficial. The Fiſheries of Newfoundland, Cape-Breton and St. John's, and the re-exportation of foreign goods, have greatly encreaſed the Britiſh navigation,

gation, riches and power. It is ſuppoſed that 2000 ſail of veſſels are employed in thoſe fiſheries; the number of hands neceſſary to navigate them, to cure and dry the fiſh, muſt be very large: and great the conſumption of proviſions, nets and other utenſils, brought almoſt intirely from England.

Goods for re-exportation are received from different quarters; ſome from Germany, Flanders, &c. but in the greateſt quantities from the Eaſt-Indies and America. The bullion ſent to the former, is made an objection to that trade, the force of which it is not my province to determine. Nothing of this ſort can, however, be objected to the trade to the American plantations which is of all moſt advantageous to the nation. There is ſcarcely any one ſpecies of Engliſh manufactures, that is not vended in America; thoſe of India likewiſe come here to a ready market. In ſhort, it is from Great-Britain, that the Colonies import almoſt every thing, requiſite for cloathing, agriculture, and other uſes. In return for theſe, they ſend her Sugar, Tobacco, Rice, Furs, Pot-aſh, Naval Stores,

Gold and Silver, and the ballance of a conſiderable trade with Portugal, Spain, and other countries, bordering on the Mediterranean, in Bills of Exchange.

Here is an occaſion to expatiate on the benefits deriv'd to Britain from each of theſe particulars; to obſerve the prodigious prices ſhe paid for them to foreigners, before their production in Britiſh America, and the comparatively ſmall prices for which they are procured at preſent. The large quantities re-exported to foreign markets, and producing a demand upon them for very great ſums annually, might alſo be mentioned with much propriety. Nor would it be amiſs to ſhew the immenſe addition theſe articles bring to the revenue. But all theſe topics have been ſo largely inſiſted on in late pamphlets and detached pieces, and muſt be ſo well known to every one, that further mention of them is unneceſſary. Only I would beg leave to obſerve a particular ſtill unnoticed; in the year 1703, the government of Sweden refuſed a ſupply of Pitch and Tar, unleſs for ready money, at their own price, and in Swediſh bottoms.

bottoms. Such a groſs impoſition awaken'd the indignation and reſentment of Britain, and taught the true policy of deriving them from the Colonies. Encouragement was thereupon given, and ſoon produced a ſufficient quantity to anſwer all her demands. But the ſpirit of the nation was again lull'd; the Sweeds reſumed their trade, and that of America was very much neglected.

Some, perhaps, will readily grant, that the exportation of theſe articles from America, is beneficial to her, and ſerves to enrich her inhabitants; but in what reſpect can it be eſteemed advantageous to Britain?

This queſtion admits a very obvious ſolution. It is advantageous to Britain in various reſpects. It affords freight for many thouſand ton of her ſhipping, and a nurſery of ſeamen for the royal navy; the commiſſions enrich her merchants, and the re-exportation brings abundance of wealth into the kingdom. The duties they pay are an immenſe increaſe of the revenue, and they are received from the plantations in return for Britiſh productions and manufactures, of which the Colonies

take off more than any foreign market whatever. The importation of Britiſh goods, and thoſe received by way of Britain, has, on a medium, for ſeveral years paſt, amounted to upwards of two millions annually; a ſum ſo immenſe, that although the Colonies abound with valuable articles, extremely well adapted to the Britiſh market, and very beneficial to her trade and navigation, and though they make large remittances by the way of Spain, Portugal and Italy, in bills of exchange, yet the produce of all theſe ſources leaves a large ballance in favour of Britain, which they pay her in gold and ſilver. This in part furniſhes bullion for the Eaſt-India trade; on account of which, and the vaſt conſumption of India goods, the flouriſhing condition of that valuable branch of commerce, may, in no ſmall degree, very juſtly be attributed to the American Colonies.

Thus we ſee, that not only every ſpecies of the manufactures of Britain, but alſo her foreign trade and navigation are much indebted to America. Hence riches have flowed into her coffers, and enabled her to ſupport a fleet, ſufficient

ſufficient to maintain the empire of the ocean. And whoever conſiders the ſtate of the Colonies, muſt conclude, that they have not been loſers by their intercourſe with their mother country. Conſideration being had of the ſhort time the American ſettlements have been made, the inhabitants have increaſed in riches and number to admiration; though far from enjoying that affluence, of which ſome would repreſent them poſſeſſed. The advantages of their trade have been mutual. She, by their means, has continued to riſe in wealth and power; whilſt they, in the ſunſhine of her aſſiſtance and protection, and the enjoyment of a beneficial commerce, have grown up and flouriſhed, and ſtill continue to flouriſh, the equal advantage, ornament, and glory of Britain.

But, ſhould we only take a retroſpect, ſhould we confine ourſelves barely to what is paſt, much injuſtice would be done to this animating ſubject, and we ſhould loſe a proſpect which cannot but afford the higheſt pleaſure to every Briton. Let us therefore look forward to the mutual benefits, which, with proper attention, may hereafter ariſe.

In

In order to this, it will be neceſſary briefly to enumerate thoſe articles of Great-Britain's foreign importations, which have relation to the preſent ſubject. They are raw, thrown and wrought Silk, Velvets, Linens, Timber, Boards, Pot-aſh, and all kinds of Naval Stores. Several writers on trade have computed the ballances paid by Britain for thoſe ſorts of goods to France, Italy, Germany, Flanders, Norway, Denmark, Sweeden and Ruſſia; and none I have met with make the amount leſs than two millions annually; this ſhe diſcharges in gold and ſilver. Perhaps matter of fact may be oppoſed to this eſtimate, becauſe there is not ſo great an exportation of bullion; but the argument is not hereby invalidated. If the ballance on ſome other trade, which would elſe be brought home and added to the national ſtock, be diverted and ſent to thoſe places, it is equally pernicious to the kingdom, as if it was imported and then exported. And this is certainly the caſe. Britain on her particular trade with Holland, for inſtance, has a right to a very large ballance in ſpecie; but the later, by keeping in her Debt the nations abovementioned, or ſeveral

of

of them, who have demands on Britain, is enabled by their means to ſatisfy her Britiſh creditors, and ſave her money; and beſides this, bullion is ſent to Holland to anſwer bills of exchange drawn in favour of thoſe nations.

The conſideration of this muſt deeply affect every one, who has at heart the trade and proſperity of Great-Britain, and would preſerve her independent of her European neighbours; eſpecially as the woollen manufactory is in its decline. France not only ſupplies her own people with woollens, but by the cheapneſs of her goods, and the countenance of the court of Spain, has in a great meaſure ſupplanted England in the Spaniſh markets. The Spaniards themſelves, ſenſible of their impolitic conduct, ſeem determined to perſiſt no longer in an error, the reſult of ill grounded principles and miſtaken notions of honour. They have made ſeveral efforts to eſtabliſh manufactories of their own Wool, which have by no means proved fruitleſs. Other nations of Europe, obſerving the ſucceſs of France, have copied her example, by

which

which England has loſt much of her woollen trade, particularly with Portugal, where the importation of this ſtaple commodity ſeems to meet with many diſcouragements.

From this reflection our attention is naturally turned to America, which will be her ſureſt, and perhaps in time, her only market, as fabrication is likely to take place in every part of Europe. If under theſe circumſtances, ſuch large ſums are continually paid for foreign imports, the ballance of trade in favour of Britain will be materially diminiſhed. The only remedy for this growing evil is to be found in America, who can furniſh a variety of the moſt uſeful raw materials on terms mutually beneficial.

Great quantities of Furs and Peltry have been, and ſtill are, ſent from the Colonies to Britain, the acquiſition of Canada having thrown that whole trade into our hands; but it is capable of greater improvement, and may well ſupercede the fur trade to Ruſſia. The Northern Indians, with a little encouragement, will bring their Ermines and other fine furs from the 70th degree of latitude, which

which is parallel with the European countries, where the moſt valuable Furs are procured. The diſtance thoſe people will travel to trade with our ſettlements, is well known to all acquainted with their affairs. This would likewiſe be a means of diſperſing Britiſh manufactures amongſt a multitude of Indian tribes, at preſent unknown to our traders.

Iron mines are ſo plenty in almoſt every province on the continent, that it is thought with good reaſon, they could ſupply all the markets in Europe.

As for Timber, Boards, Pitch and Tar, they may likewiſe be procured here in great abundance. Britiſh America, extended along the coaſt more than 2000 miles, and reaching an unknown, but prodigious way into the continent, is almoſt one continued foreſt, fill'd with every kind of uſeful timber, notwithſtanding the great devaſtions made within the two laſt centuries.

Here it may poſſibly be objected, that the expenſive freight of theſe bulky articles, would render them unfit for the Engliſh markets. The Danes, Swedes, and others,

employed at preſent in the Lumber trade, are no doubt by long experience become ſkillful and can afford their goods at the cheapeſt rates: but the Colonies might be put upon a par with them by encouragement from the legiſlature. Greater difficulties in other inſtances have yielded to the efforts of Britiſh adventurers. America may vie with any country whatever in plenty of materials, and other conveniences; and if large bulky ſhips were built, of ſeven or eight hundred tons, capable of being navigated by fewer hands in proportion to their burthen, than thoſe in preſent uſe, the expence of navigation would be much diminiſhed. The difference of diſtance between America, and the Gulphs of Bothnia and Finland, from London, is inconſiderable; and America is neareſt to Liſbon, Cadiz, and all the markets to the Southward of Cape Finiſterre, and therefore might more conveniently ſupply thoſe markets.

The inconvenience, and even abſurdity of being ſupplied with Naval Stores by foreigners, beſides the diſadvantage of conſuming the national wealth, is very evident. Every one knows, that ſhould a war be entered into with

with thoſe nations, or ſhould they be confederated with the enemies of Britain, by cutting off the ſinews of her ſtrength, they might reduce her to the utmoſt diſtreſſes. Both inconveniences would be remedied, if Naval Stores were entirely procured from America; who, being connected with the Mother Country by every powerful tie, would not fail to afford them in plenty on any emergency.

Hemp, Flax and Silk, manufactured and unmanufactured, are articles for which Britain pays large ſums to foreigners, as was obſerved before. Rough materials may be procured in the Colonies, which abound with low bottoms and deep rich ſoils, requiring only cultivation to produce the moſt luxuriant crops of Hemp and Flax, particularly in the Southern Colonies. To confirm this, I might mention the fertility of Egypt, which lies nearly under the ſame parallels of latitude with Florida, Georgia, Carolina and Virginia, and is famous for the production of theſe commodities in the greateſt perfection; but experience is preferable to a thouſand arguments.

I mention Silk, becauſe the abundance of Mulberry-trees in the Southern Colonies, ſeems naturally to point out the cultivation of that valuable article. To this may be added, that their ſoil, climate and marine ſituation, are pretty much the ſame with Nankin and Chekiang, the moſt famous Silk provinces in all China. Theſe circumſtances afford good reaſon to believe, the Silk worm would thrive very well here, and experience heightens the belief into certainty. Small trials have been made, and ſome ſilk produced in Carolina, was eſteemed by good judges equal to the fineſt of China or Italy. The hands employed in the cultivation of Hemp and Flax, will have ſufficient leiſure to gather the leaves and feed the worms, which will enable the planters to afford all theſe articles cheaper than may at firſt be imagined.

From this it ſeems evident, that materials for carrying on the Silk and Linen manufactories to the greateſt extent, may be procured from America. And in Great-Britain are prodigious numbers of poor, who would chearfully work to maintain themſelves and families, doom'd to miſery for want of employment.

employment. To eſtabliſh manufactories of thoſe goods by public encouragement, would therefore be an undertaking of the higheſt utility both to Britain and the Colonies. "*Fas eſt et ab hoſte doceri.*" It could be no diſgrace to imitate in this reſpect the policy of France, who knowing that trade is the only ſolid foundation of greatneſs, is endeavouring to monopolize the three grand branches of manufactories.

Nor need the woollen manufacturer be afraid, that his buſineſs would hereby receive the ſmalleſt prejudice. There is a ſufficient number of hands in the three kingdoms to carry on each of them to the greateſt advantage. Many who at preſent can't afford themſelves the neceſſary covering, would then be able to purchaſe more decent and comfortable cloathing; and the Colonies having their ſources of remittance enlarged, would increaſe their already enormous demands for Britiſh manufactures.

Should this beneficial ſcheme be carried into execution, more than two millions would be annually ſaved to the nation; adequate

quate employment provided for an incredible number of hands in Britain and America; and the trade, navigation and riches of both would receive very large additions.

It may poſſibly be thought from my appearing to confine fabrication to Great-Britain, that I am no friend to the Colonies, as there has of late been ſo many propoſals for erecting manufactories in America. I ſhould eſteem myſelf very unhappy in the diſpleaſure of my countrymen. None of the numerous ſons of Britiſh America more ardently wiſhes her proſperity than myſelf, or has a heart more devoted to her ſervice. Conſcious therefore of the rectitude of my intentions, I will not doubt of being heard with candor, tho' I venture to maintain, that to divert their hands from their preſent lucrative Employments, and ſet them to work on manufactories, would be incompatible with the true intereſt of the Colonies.

The number of their inhabitants, though near three millions, is ſmall in proportion to the extent of continent they poſſeſs. Lands are conſequently cheap, and labour dear; whatever,

whatever therefore can be produced by means of the land with little labour, muſt prove moſt advantageous. Hence ariſes the propriety of ſhip-building, wherein the materials, thus procurable, are of primary conſideration.

For the ſame reaſon, agriculture will bring more emolument to the Colonies, than could poſſibly ariſe from manufacturing goods, whoſe chief value depends on the artificer's labour. Nor will this circumſtance render them at all more dependent. Abounding with the neceſſaries of life, and materials for fabrication, the produce of the willing earth, they can at any time command a ſupply of the goods they want, in greater plenty, and of a better quality than would have been the reſult of their labour, employed in manufactures. I would not be underſtood by this reaſoning, to exclude the induſtrious farmer from working up his Wool, and other coarſe articles, unfit for exportation; this will be doubly advantageous, it will be a ſaving to himſelf, and enable him to pay for the finer goods he may purchaſe with greater eaſe and punctuality.

Now

Now upon a review of the whole we find, that the trade of Great-Britain to ſome places is vaſtly advantageous, bringing large ſums of money into the kingdom; to others, although no returns are made in ſpecie, but as much of their produce and manufactures received as is ſent them of Britiſh, it is nevertheleſs profitable, affording employment for her people; to a third ſort, though perhaps lucrative to ſome private merchants, it is very pernicious, and unprofitable to the nation in general, as it drains the kingdom of great quantities of gold and ſilver. We may alſo obſerve, that the neceſſity of continuing the latter is removed by the colonies, which are capable of furniſhing, at leaſt, materials for manufacturing all the particulars procured thereby, with mutual benefit. It likewiſe appears, that a great part of her moſt advantageous trade depends on the Colonies, and that it may be ſtill farther improved by America; that whilſt the Colonies have contributed ſo much to enrich and aggrandize their mother country, they have themſelves been enriched and protected; and that the ſcheme for rendering them

ſtill

ſtill more advantageous to Britain, promiſes them an equal ſhare of profit.

Whoever conſiders theſe circumſtances, will, I am perſuaded, anticipate my concluſion; but I cannot diſmiſs the ſubject without ſuggeſting another argument, which will not be eſteemed a trifling one by men of ſerioufneſs and reflection. The benefits ariſing from the Proteſtant Religion to thoſe ſtates which have embraced it, and indeed to the world in general, are very obvious. Every one acquainted with the affairs of Europe, muſt acknowledge their ſituation is far better than it was four or five centuries ago; the religious and civil liberties of mankind, are underſtood with more clearneſs and preciſion; the human mind, which before was crampt and confined in its reſearches, has become more expanded, and acquired much clearer knowledge in the Arts, in Philoſophy and Divinity. It is now very well known, that Philoſophy does not conſiſt in monkiſh jargon, and that without Virtue there can be no Religion. Even thoſe countries, that are enemies to Proteſtantiſm, have been ſharers in its happy effects; the rays of

knowledge have, in ſome meaſure, illuminated their clouded underſtandings; but like thoſe of the ſun within the Polar climates, they are weak and languid.

Great-Britain has been the bulwark of the Proteſtant intereſt, ever ſince its exiſtence; and by her the attacks of its enemies have been repelled. The Britiſh Colonies, eſtabliſhed on principles of Civil and Religious Liberty, have hitherto been protected therein by their own noble efforts, and her kind aſſiſtance; and while they remain united, the enjoyment of their liberties of both kinds, will, no doubt, be continued in its full extent. What would be the conſequence of a diſunion, none can tell; but there is more than a probability, that theſe particulars would be deeply affected. France, our ever-watchful enemy, will be ready to ſeize any advantage that may offer. She would have her armaments prepared to enter by St. Lawrence and the Miſſiſippi, and might poſſibly over-run all the Colonies. Should this be the caſe, the candle of Science would be ſoon extinguiſhed, and Ignorance introduced, in order to keep up a blind devotion and implicit

obedience.

obedience. The Genius of Liberty would be driven from Britiſh America, where ſhe hath hitherto delighted to reſide; and whether the mother country would be more fortunate, I leave to the conſideration of her Patriot Sons.

Since, then, ſo many reciprocal advantages are the reſult of Union between Britain and America; to render that Union perpetual, will be the only means of ſecuring and tranſmitting them to poſterity, together with thoſe immenſe benefits, which are yet in proſpect. Intereſt and affection,—all the tender and endearing ties, which connect mankind,—-backed by the venerable authority of Religion, plead for it with irreſiſtable eloquence.

Whether the Union ought to remain on its preſent eſtabliſhment, or whether it ſhould receive a new form and impreſſion, are matters foreign to my purpoſe: Only permit me to ſuggeſt that, in the important determination, no partial views ſhould be purſued; but the intereſt of each, and its relation to the whole, ſhould have a proper conſideration.—He muſt be either a madman, or a novice in politicks, who would

ſet the intereſt of one in competition with that of the other.——They are inſeparably connected, and muſt ſtand or fall together. That maxim of Mr. Pope may be here applied with much truth and propriety; "Self love and ſocial are the ſame:" each will find their accounts in promoting the other's happineſs and proſperity. In the diſcuſſion, the trade of the colonies merits a peculiar attention. Should thoſe methods I have taken the liberty to mention, be fallen upon to enlarge it, and free ports eſtabliſhed in ſome parts of Britiſh America, the national riches would be greatly increaſed. The inhabitants of the Spaniſh, Portugueſe, and other American ſettlements, would reſort thither for ſupplies of Britiſh manufactures, and the produce of the Colonies; leaving in exchange for them large quantities of gold and ſilver; a very conſiderable part of which would ultimately center in Great-Britain.

Warmed and animated with a ſincere love for my country, I cannot but indulge a pleaſing hope, that Britain and her colonies, ſenſible of their true intereſt, will ſteadily and with unremitting zeal

purſue

purſue meaſures calculated to cement this Union.----The repeal of a late * act of the Britiſh parliament, and the preſent favourable diſpoſition of that moſt reſpectable body, fill us with the higheſt joy, and promiſe redreſs of all our grievances: and I am well perſuaded, my fellow ſubjects of America will not be wanting in any proper expreſſions of difference and ſubordination to the head of the Britiſh empire.---The wound, which ſeemed to be attended with ſymptoms fatal to the mutual confidence ſubſiſting between them, will now be healed, and I flatter myſelf without a ſcar, by way of remembrance. Jealouſies will ſubſide; animoſities be forgotten; harmony will be preſerved in every part of the body politick; and innumerable bleſſings entailed on poſterity.

* The American Stamp Act.

END of SECOND DISSERTATION.

DISSERTATION III.

Divide et impera.

HOWEVER mankind, as individuals, may be ſwayed by the different motives of paſſion, prejudice, and honour; yet, when formed into ſtates and communities, theſe all ſubſide; and Intereſt becomes the grand prevailing principle that actuates all their motions. It is the Pole-ſtar by which the political pilot muſt ever guide the helm of government, where too keen a purſuit of it does not interfere with the faith of treaties, or the natural rights of mankind. An accurate diſcernment therefore of the true intereſt of a nation, and a ſteady active prudence in the purſuit of it, conſtitute the true political wiſdom that ought to diſtinguiſh every ſtateſman. And ſo ſenſible are miniſters of every complexion of the truth of this doctrine, that, however ſelfiſh and pernicious

their views, they ſeldom fail to cover them over with the plauſible and ſpecious colouring of national advantage.

The eſtabliſhing a grand COMMERCIAL INTEREST ſeems now to be the great object of the regard and attention of the different ſtates of Europe. To this they are every day ſacrificing the leſs important conſiderations of national pride and prejudice. Whatever, therefore, tends to promote or obſtruct this great principle of government, is now become a matter of ſerious conſequence, which deſerves the cloſeſt attention and the tendereſt care. And amidſt the rivalſhip and contention of the ſeveral European powers in attaining this capital point, happy will that nation be, whoſe adminiſtration ſhall lead to ſuch meaſures as are moſt conducive to this end, as a ſuperiority may now be gained that may blaſt the hopes, and at once daſh the expectations, of its aſpiring competitors.

If there is any one, who at preſent bids faireſt for this pre-eminence, it is Great-Britain, whoſe free and happy conſtitution moſt admirably protects and cheriſhes an enterprizing

enterprizing commercial ſpirit. A ſecurity of perſon and property is eſſentially neceſſary to the very being of a *commercial nation*, and in this reſpect none of its rivals can claim ſuperiority to the happy ſubjects of Britain, whoſe wiſe and valiant anceſtors have handed down to them this glorious ſecurity, ſealed with their blood. But not even this nor her natural ſituation ſo well adapted for ſafety from her enemies and the advancement of her trade, nor yet the active genius and temper of her children, may be ſufficient to enſure her ſucceſs, if her colonies are neglected or oppreſſed: If properly attended to, they will prove the true ſources of her wealth and power, and enable her to ſoar above her emulating neighbours, who will view her rapid progreſs with envy and admiration. To enumerate the many mutual advantages they have already received from their cloſe and intimate connection would be no eaſy taſk—but it would require little leſs than inſpiration to foreſee all the reciprocal advantages that will attend a future Union between them formed upon proper, upon generous principles.

To point out thoſe that are moſt obvious, and which muſt neceſſarily follow, is the deſign of this Eſſay, which pretends to no more than ſketching out the imperfect out-lines of a picture, whoſe beauty has indeed been ſhaded: but we truſt and believe that time and experience will point out thoſe blemiſhes, and ſoon reſtore it to its former purity and luſtre. To facilitate this has been the deſign of the generous friend to this inſtitution, who propoſed the diſcuſſion of the preſent ſubject; and it is a deſign worthy the benevolent patriotic ſpirit of an Engliſh Senator.

Rome, the miſtreſs of the world and arbiter of nations, by her wiſe policy and prudent conduct to her allies and coloniſts, raiſed herſelf to an aſtoniſhing pitch of grandeur and power; ſhe encouraged, ſhe incorporated, and never deprived them of any eſſential privileges. By theſe rules ſhe gained their affections; and of factious, turbulent citizens, and often of inveterate enemies, ſhe made faithful, zealous, and uſeful ſubjects. Great-Britain has at much expence of blood and treaſure ſecured and protected her American colonies from the deſigns of France,

France, who viewed their riſing power and growing importance with a jealous eye, and therefore determined to nip them in the bud, before they could ripen to any degree of formidable perfection. Happily for us, theſe ambitious and fatal projects were cruſhed by the united valour and ſkill of Great-Britain and her provinces. To a happy and ſucceſsful Union in War, let us then add the happy and harmonious Union of Peace, nor loſe its bleſſings by inattention to, or diſregard of, the ineſtimable advantages that may, nay, that muſt attend it.

Colonies are emigrations from the mother country, either occaſioned by a quick Population, ſo as to render it too ſmall for the ſupport of its growing inhabitants; or, by Oppreſſion, Tyranny, and undue exerciſe of Power; or ſometimes by the diſtreſſes and deſolation of War.

In the firſt caſe, they are always formed not only with the countenance, but with the expreſs encouragement and direction of the mother country. In the ſecond inſtance, unleſs prohibited by legal authority, they generally go with its implyed conſent. In the

leaſt, which was the caſe of the Trojans after the deſtruction of Troy, they go under a neceſſity which is ſuperior to all law. In either of theſe caſes then, but eſpecially the two firſt, they cannot be ſuppoſed to relinquiſh their claim to any of the rights and privileges of the country from which they go, nor yet to have forfeited it. No; however remote, they ſtill continue ſubjects of the ſame kingdom; and, unleſs ſpecially relinquiſhed, intituled to all the liberties, privileges, and immunities of that country, of which they form one or more of the conſtituent parts. If this be as true in fact as it is grateful in ſuppoſition, the analogy made by an eminent writer* between the American colonies and thoſe of Spain, which he ſuppoſes to be ſettled upon the ſame principles, and therefore to be governed by the ſame policy, muſt appear very ſtrange. But the principle upon which it is founded, is as erroneous as the conſequence deduced from it is derogatory to Engliſh Liberty.

The American Colonies have been entirely ſettled by thoſe who came under the immediate protection and countenance of the

* Dr. Strahan's Preface to Domat's Civil Law.

government,

government, or fled to it as an aſylum from arbitrary and oppreſſive power. A due conſideration of the rights they claim, and the duties they owe to the mother country, may be neceſſary in ſome degree to aſcertain with preciſion the advantages that will accrue from a compleat, and perfect Union. Theſe *rights* and *duties* are *reciprocal*, as well as the Intereſt which ariſes from them.

The *Rights* we claim are the *full* and *free* enjoyment of *conſtitutional Liberty*, *protection* from foreign invaſions, and *encouragement* in every *commercial intereſt*, which does not directly interfere with that of the mother country.

The *Duties* we owe, are *Obedience* under *conſtitutional* and *legal* reſtrictions, and an excluſive preference to the mother country in every article of commerce and trade. Under one or other of theſe heads, however widely diffuſed, may be comprized every duty, either owing to or from the mother country. And it is by a due and mutual obſervance of theſe only, that their reſpective and reciprocal intereſt can be promoted. From this juſt and wiſe policy will flow all thoſe advantages which render a

cloſe

cloſe and perfect Union ſo deſireable an object—and theſe may be conſidered either as they tend to increaſe the power and glory of Great-Britain, or as they advance its grand commercial intereſt, and become the channels of its wealth. Or with regard to the Colonies, as they conduce to their ſafety, nouriſhment and protection; for though the true riches of a nation are ſaid to conſiſt in the number of its inhabitants, and treaſures are called the ſinews of war, it is very certain a nation may be very poor, and very powerful at the ſame time; or abound with wealth, and yet be weak and impotent. Rome, in its early ages, was poor in every thing but the public ſpirit and bravery of her people, while ſhe was the dread and terror of the nations round her. And Spain is at preſent a lively inſtance that wealth and power are not inſeparable; who, as the treaſures of the Indies have flowed in upon her, has loſt the martial animated ſpirit of her anceſtors.

As ſubjects of the ſame kingdom, bearing allegiance to the ſame Prince, and controuled by the ſame executive power, the Americans are bound to contribute, in proportion

portion to their numbers and abilities, to the defence and ſafety of the common cauſe. What an acceſſion of power to the Britiſh empire then is three millions of ſubjects, dutiful, loyal and brave, who have on many occaſions diſtinguiſhed themſelves, and ſhewn they were not unworthy the glorious ſtock from which they ſprung; who intereſt themſelves in the honour and glory of the nation, and partake of the veneration and reſpect due to it?

Here is a fund of hardy, brave ſoldiers, inured to fatigue and frugality, ready to engage in the ſervice of Great-Britain, whenever ſhe thinks proper to require them. From this fruitful, this increaſing ſource, her armies and navies may receive conſtant ſupplies, not of mercenary hirelings ready to engage in the ſervice of the higheſt bidder, but faithful, dutiful children, animated with becoming fortitude, freedom and loyalty. Theſe, if encouraged, cheriſhed and protected, will indeed prove

"Of Britain's empire the ſupport and ſtrength."

Thompſon.

In

In order to make a colony of the moſt uſe and benefit to the mother country, it is neceſſary that its climate, its ſoil, and natural produce, ſhould be eſſentially different from hers. This will create a neceſſary connection and dependance between them. The interchanging the commodities and produce of the one, for thoſe of the other, will not only deſtroy the heart-burnings and jealouſy of a competition, but produce an intercourſe equally beneficial and durable to both. It is happy, therefore, when the ſubjects of *Commerce* cannot be the ſame, as they thereby reap an advantage, from which other nations are excluded, who might either by withholding diſtreſs them, or raiſe the ballance againſt them when their neceſſities were not mutual and equal. In this reſpect, Great-Britain is peculiarly happy in her Colonies, whoſe wide extent and different ſituations include a variety of climates, ſoils and produce, and thus form a proper baſis for the commercial intereſt, to which every other conſideration ſhould ſubmit. The iſlands produce commodities which the mother country muſt uſe, and yet cannot raiſe; theſe therefore ſhe muſt

procure

procure by an intercourſe with her colonies, or lie at the mercy of thoſe powers whoſe intereſt it might occaſionally be to diſtreſs her. But what adds to the advantage is, that the ſubjects of commerce are not only eaſily procured by a mutual exchange, equally convenient and ſatisfactory to both; and at the ſame time a large revenue ſecured, not only upon the home conſumption, but on the ſurplus beyond their reſpective wants and neceſſities. Thus alſo, as to the continent, Great-Britain, both as a naval and commercial nation, would be in a critical, dangerous ſituation, if ſhe did not hold within her own reach, all the materials neceſſary for the ſupport of both. An entire dependance upon any of her neighbours for one neceſſary article, would, in ſome degree, make her ſubject to that neighbour. But her Colonies ſet her above every apprehenſion of this kind. Her northern provinces abound with timber of every kind, neceſſary for building and equipping her navies. Immenſe bodies of Ore, both Iron and Copper, are already diſcovered, and uſefully employed; and, doubtleſs, much more lies ſtill concealed in the bowels of the earth, whoſe ſoil, if properly cultivated and encouraged,

is richly productive of Hemp and Flax; for the former of which Great-Britain pays, *communibus annis*, 300,000 *l.* ſterling. Her more ſouthern Colonies furniſh her with the few remaining marine articles of Pitch, Tar, and Turpentine.

Here then are found all the materials of Timber, Iron, Cordage, and every other ſpecies of Naval Stores, neceſſary for the ſupport, nay, the exiſtence of Great-Britain as a maritime power. Should I here mention bodies of Saltpetre, the ſpontaneous produce of the earth, I may perhaps be thought too premature; but if the promiſing appearances of that uſeful and expenſive, but neceſſary commodity, be happily confirmed, here is a new ſource of national wealth and independance. A large and conſtant balance, which Great-Britain pays to the Indies in ſpecie, will be inſtantly ſaved, and a ſurer, quicker, and cheaper ſupply at once ſecured. Next to the ſubjects of Commerce, which are neceſſary to enable the mother country to maintain her independance and rank among the other powers of Europe, we may place all theſe, which are articles of convenience, luxury, and the ſurplus of thoſe commodities

modities which are not applied to naval purpoſes. The real and abſolute neceſſaries of life are but few, the ſubjects of Commerce are many and various, as they contribute not only to the real, but the imaginary, capricious wants, of mankind. To provide therefore againſt theſe wants, upon advantageous terms, is a juſt and neceſſary policy; and there are few, very few, of theſe articles which the coloniſts cannot furniſh, under proper encouragements. The iſlands tender the various produce of their climate equal in quantity and quality with thoſe of their neighbours. The Southern Colonies of North-America have, as far as the infancy of the country will permit, produced the different articles of Silk, Rice, Indigo, Tobacco, and even the Tea plant has not been altogether uncultivated. Some of theſe have been carried to a much greater degree of cultivation than others; but where it has, Great-Britain has received a proportionate benefit. In the inſtance of Tobacco only, ſhe has become not only the ſole vender, but almoſt the ſole manufacturer for Europe, beſides the immenſe revenue flowing immediately into her exchequer.

Wines are an article of luxury, and it is perhaps upon that account they have not been ſo much attended to by the frugal, temperate American; but it is certain, not only from theory, but experience, that the ſituation and ſoil of many parts of this extended continent, are well adapted for producing them. To what degree of perfection not only the cultivation of theſe, but the other articles of convenience and luxury may arrive, is difficult to determine; but it is eaſy to ſee, that the great, the eventual profit, will terminate in Great-Britain. I mentioned before the produce of the Colonies as Naval Stores, but conſidered as the raw materials of great and extenſive manufactories, which give bread to thouſands; and of idle, clamorous, ſtarving ſubjects, make uſeful and induſtrious citizens, I cannot err, when I ſay they are immenſely uſeful to their mother country. Upon a view of the foreign trade of Great-Britain, we ſhall find, that, except that to Portugal, the ballance is againſt her in every one. To Ruſſia, to Sweden, to Denmark, to Germany, ſhe pays annually large ſums in ſpecie, for thoſe very commodities which her American Colonies can and do produce; and a great writer has obſerved, "That a country

" which

" which conſtantly exports fewer manufac-
" tures or commodities than it receives, will
" ſoon find the ballance ſinking, will re-
" ceive leſs and leſs, till, falling into extreme
" poverty, it will receive nothing at all."

Here then we may trace the great utility of the Colonies, not only that they afford a conſtant and ſure ſupply of the ſubjects of commerce, neceſſary for the ſupport of the power and manufactures of the mother country, but in that ſhe has an indiſputable excluſive preference in the ſale of them; and the Colonies in return are the fixed and conſtant cuſtomers for all her manufactures and commodities, to which they are indiſpenſably obliged to give the preference over thoſe of other countries; for as the deſign of colonizing was not to found a new empire, but to extend the old, there is no impropriety in appropriating the trade of the Colonies to the mother country only. If the ballance was therefore in favour of Colonies, as is the caſe between Great-Britain and the Eaſt-Indies, it would be more eligible it ſhould fall into the hands of its own ſubjects, however remote, than into thoſe of a foreign power. But where that ballance is actually and greatly

greatly in favour of the mother country, it becomes an intereſt that ought to be very dear; to the cultivating of which, the greateſt care and attention of government ſhould be applied. That this is the caſe of Great-Britain and her continential Colonies, the vaſt exportation of bullion, and the ſtill remaining debt of five millions, moſt evidently evince. With what a rapid, aſtoniſhing progreſs, this beneficial, this lucrative trade has advanced, the growing increaſe of the exports declare, which aroſe from the year 1744, from £. 1,436,227, to the amazing amount of £. 2,710,520. To this the mother country, in a great meaſure, owes her continuance as a trading nation, when deprived of her valuable Levant trade, and her intercourſe even with Portugal greatly diminiſhed, and leſſened by her active induſtrious rivals, the French and Dutch. It is from this fountain thoſe treaſures flow, which enable her to pay the reſpective ballances to thoſe countries with whom ſhe trades, on a diſadvantageous footing. America, it is true, does not extract them immediately from her own bowels. She has a more valuable and durable reſource, in the

the labour and induſtry of her inhabitants; who exchange the ſurplus of their commodities, beyond their own conſumption, (and which might, in ſome reſpects, interfere with the ſtaples of the mother country, or at leaſt be uſeleſs to her) for thoſe treaſures which are only valuable to the coloniſts, as they enable them to diſcharge paſt, and contract future engagements for the manufactures of Great-Britain.

While, therefore, ſhe poſſeſſes a market, which ſhe can call *excluſively* her own, ſubject to her own regulations, and the ballance always in her favour; whatever the Colonies may acquire from any collateral branches of trade, will quickly flow to the mother country, as the great centre of all their external profits. To reſtrain, therefore, or rather ſtop up thoſe channels of remittance, is, in effect, to prohibit the conſumption of the manufactures of Great-Britain, as our deſires to procure them have at all times been equal to, and ſometimes exceed, our ability to pay for them. Whence it follows, that a policy which enſures a ſmall immediate revenue, at the expence of a great, though indirect national

national gain, is mean and ſordid, unworthy the noble enterprizing ſpirit of a commercial nation.

But I ſhould leave this ſubject very imperfect indeed, if I ſhould omit two great funds of national wealth and power, the Fiſheries and the Fur-Trade. The firſt of theſe is a mine richer than that of Potoſi, and more inexhauſtible. For while our Fiſheries ſerve as a great ſubject of commerce, they are alſo a fruitful nurſery of brave, hardy ſeamen, trained up to fatigue, to difficulty and danger.

The Fur-Trade, which is now ſecured almoſt beyond the reach of accident, is doubly valuable, as it is enjoyed ſolely and excluſively—an advantage which is not confined to a monopoly of the raw materials, and enhances their price only, but enables Great-Britain to be both the merchant, and the manufacturer alſo, and that upon her own terms; while other nations muſt depend upon a precarious uncertain ſupply, which may either be raiſed in its price, or totally withheld, as the fluctuating policy of intereſt or friendſhip ſhall require. This acquiſition

acquiſition is not only valuable, as it will probably revive a languiſhing, dying manufactory; but as it is at preſent, an actual, and conſiderable ſource of revenue, both on the home conſumption, and alſo on that of foreigners.

Theſe are a few of the principal advantages with which a proper cultivation, eſtabliſhment, and tender regard of the Colonies may be attended to the mother country. She has likewiſe many inferior ones. The reſidence of thoſe of affluent fortunes, who may be led thither by views of education, or mere curioſity, is not altogether unworthy regard. Theſe all depend on, and can only flow from a perfect compleat Union—by ſupporting that relationſhip between the mother country and her Colonies, which has planted in their boſoms ſo ſtrong and lively an affection, as to diſtinguiſh Great-Britain by the tender endearing appellation of HOME.

But it is time now that we ſhould turn to the Colonies, and ſee what advantages they may propoſe to themſelves from a dutiful and affectionate union with the mother country; and from our paſt feelings we ſhall readily

acknowledge we ſtand in need of her protection, nurture, and care. Expoſed by our ſituation, by a rivalſhip and competition of intereſts, and yet in a ſtate of infancy, it would be extremely difficult, if not impoſſible, to form any union among ourſelves, that would be ſufficient to repel the attacks of a formidable invader. In this weak, this defenceleſs ſtate, therefore, we muſt look up to our indulgent parent, whoſe vigorous, ſalutary aid we have ſo often already experienced. Upon her we muſt rely for ſupport, and under her wing ſhelter ourſelves againſt any attempts of thoſe, whoſe principles and government are incompatible with our Religion and Liberty. A ſeparation would be attended with certain ruin to the Colonies, in their preſent ſituation, as they muſt neceſſarily fall a prey to one or other of thoſe powers, who would ſnatch with eagerneſs ſo tempting a prize.

The firſt principle of nature, ſelf-preſervation, therefore, dictates to the Colonies, a ſteady, a ſtrict adherence to the mother country, as upon that depends the enjoyment of every invaluable privilege of a civil or religious nature. But we may not only conſider her

as

as the protector, but as the nurſing mother of her Colonies. Arts, Sciences, Agriculture and Commerce, riſe by ſlow degrees, and are long before they arrive to any degree of perfection. They are not of quick or ſpontaneous growth. They muſt be planted, cheriſhed and encouraged. And have we not experienced the tenderneſs of our mother country in this reſpect, by her bounties diſperſed not only in public channels, but by private ſocieties and patriotic individuals? Have we not reaſon to expect a continuance and perhaps an increaſe of her benevolent efforts in our behalf? Thus taking our enterprizing genius by the hand, and leading it on in the paths of induſtry and uſeful improvements.

To turn the attention of the Colonies to the cultivation of thoſe ſubjects of Commerce which the mother country does not, or cannot produce, tho' to her it may be eventually profitable, is to the Colonies immediately and directly ſo; and when it is done by mild, by bountiful meaſures, deſerves our gratitude and thankful returns. A fixed and permanent Union between Great-Britain and her Colonies, is abſolutely neceſſary for the pre-

ſervation of the peace and harmony of their internal adminiſtration. For to form the conſtitution and plan of a new government, or even to new model and reviſe the old, is no eaſy or inconſiderable taſk. That of the mother country has been the work of ages; and, to uſe the words of an eminent writer, ſeems dictated by wiſdom itſelf. While, therefore the coloniſts can enjoy all the bleſſings of an Engliſh conſtitution undiminiſhed and uninterrupted, it would be ſuperlative madneſs and folly to run the riſk of a change which could not poſſibly be for the better, and might be infinitely worſe. Unconnected and divided as they are at preſent, both in ſituation and intereſt (owing to the difference of Settlement, of Charters, of Religion, and Commerce, which are often claſhing) how difficult, and next to impoſſible, would it be to reſcue them from a ſtate of anarchy; and form a conſtitution, for which I will venture to ſay, from the extent of America, there can no precedent be found; a conſtitution which at the ſame time that it reconciles theſe jarring intereſts, muſt preſerve every religious and civil Liberty intire?

The

The difficulties of an Union for the purpoſes of empire, are almoſt inſuperable. To canton out the provinces into pretty independent kingdoms, beſides the arduous taſk of ſettling the internal police, would ſubject them not only to perpetual quarrels with each other, but render them an eaſy prey to ſome foreign power, as they would ſingly be weak, though united under one head, truly formidable. The only remaining reſource of deſperate diſtreſs, muſt be to form the provinces into diſtricts, having full power of legiſlation within themſelves—but ſubject to the controul of ſome ſupreme, ſuperintendant authority raiſed out of the collective body, as in ſome inſtances in Germany, or, with more probability, like Holland or Switzerland. But this the vaſt extent of the Colonies will render almoſt impoſſible, as it would give being to an ariſtocracy—a kind of government as repugnant to the genius and temper of America, as deſpotic monarchy.

I therefore repeat it, that the preſervation of our laws, commerce, and every other bleſſing of domeſtic peace, by the wiſe policy of the mother country, can only be made the baſis of a cloſe and firm connection between her and them. Next

Next to the ſecurity of a ſtate, its wealth and convenience are to be regarded, and to judge how beneficial Great-Britain is to the Colonies in this reſpect, it may be proper to remark, that as other countries produce the ſame commodities, and have hitherto been able to underſell the Americans in a variety of articles, wherever an excluſive, or even a preferable market has been given to the latter, the advantage muſt be obvious. This has been done in many inſtances by prohibitions, or by duties charged on ſuch commodities as interfered with thoſe from the Colonies, which in ſome caſes amount to a prohibition. The Britiſh Whale Fiſhery has been almoſt wholly given up, in favour of the American Fiſheries. Sugars, Hemp, Indigo and Tobacco, beſides a variety of other articles from the Colonies, have met with every mark of encouragement, while the ſame commodities from other countries have been diſcountenanced, or wholly prohibited. This is wiſe and juſt policy in the mother country, at the ſame time that it diſcovers a tender regard to her children, and makes it their intereſt to unite more cloſely. In ſhort, they have every thing that can make a nation great, happy and powerful,

ful, to hope from a Union, every thing that is dangerous to fear from a diviſion.

"*Divide et impera*," was the Roman motto. May it not be applicable to Great-Britain and her American Colonies, who, if united, have proved themſelves equal, nay, ſuperior to two of the principal powers of Europe; but if divided, if ſtruggling with inteſtine commotions and civil diſcord, I fear will prove unable to contend with either. This, to uſe the expreſſion of a great and eminent friend of the Colonies, is the *grand* FAMILY COMPACT, which muſt be cemented by every tie of duty, loyalty and affection from the Provinces, and every mark of kind protecting tenderneſs from the mother country. A fatal, undeſcerning policy had almoſt ſnapt theſe intereſting cords aſunder, never perhaps to have been cloſed again; but the guardian genius of Britain and of America ſtept between them and ruin, and with outſtretched hands ſaved a ſinking nation.

The Romans decreed a crown to him who ſaved the life of a citizen in battle; but what crowns or ſtatues can do ſufficient honour to the Man or Men who ſave a country, a kingdom,

dom, in the hour of diſtreſs, and reſcue a falling ſtate from the brink of ruin? Rome may juſtly boaſt her Brutus's, her Curtius's, her Cato's, and her Tully's—they were the PITTS, the Conways, and the Barres of that age, alike warmed by the ſacred fire of Liberty, alike crowned with Immortality, and handed down to poſterity the wonder and delight of admiring nations. Theſe glorious architects, nobly aided by many others whoſe names will be held in long veneration, have propp'd the tottering fabrick of the Britiſh EMPIRE, and pointed out that noble, generous policy, which will make one great ſyſtem of government, whereof Britain will be the common centre of attraction.

Under ſuch a policy, we can with joy look forwards, and behold PEACE, LIBERTY and COMMERCE diffuſing their kindly influence over all the parts of GREAT-BRITAIN's Empire; whoſe true happineſs and permanent ſecurity can be no way effectually eſtabliſhed but by "a perpetual UNION between her and her AMERICAN COLONIES!"

End of DISSERTATION III.

DISSERTATION IV.

By FRANCIS HOPKINSON, Eſq.

AT this important juncture, when the eyes of all America are lifted to the mother country in anxious expectation; when trembling fear or bold defiance, enlivening hope or myſterious ſurmiſe, diſtract every breaſt, and ſit in every brow; what ſubject can be more intereſting than the "Reciprocal advantages of a perpetual Union between Great-Britain and her Colonies"! and yet there is no ſubject, perhaps, which the public is ſo little diſpoſed to receive with candour, and judge of with impartiality. How then ſhall a native of America, and an unexperienced writer, eſpecially in matters of ſuch high importance, preſume to draw his pen? But the worthy Gentleman who has propoſed this ſubject, and back'd his propoſal with the reward of diſtinguiſhed honour, has raiſed in us who are candidates on this occaſion, that ambition

which hath, in all ages, prompted men to greater undertakings than cooler judgment would have ſuffered them to engage in.

I do not mean, in this *little Eſſay*, to calculate the advantages of *trade* between Great-Britain and her Colonies, in order to ſhew that they are *reciprocal*. By the very nature of Commerce they muſt be ſo. There is no country in the world that exports ſtaple commodities or manufactures, but for an advantage to be gained; or imports them, but for the ſame reaſon.

As the God of nature has adapted different countries to abound in different kinds of produce, or excel in various uſeful arts; it is evident that a commercial intercourſe muſt redound to the benefit of the whole. But how muſt this advantage be increaſed, when we conſider that Great-Britain, in her trade with her Colonies, does not ſupport a foreign people, whoſe religion, politicks, and cuſtoms, are different from her own; but ſhe ſupports and nouriſhes her own offspring, at the ſame time that ſhe enriches herſelf by the natural profits of an extenſive trade; and ſhe ſtrengthens herſelf by protecting and encouraging her own religion, government and cuſtoms, tranſplanted to America. Com-

Commerce between Great-Britain and her Colonies, is like the wholeſome food which a man eats. He cannot ſay, his head, his hands, or his feet, are more particularly benefited by it; but the finer parts thereof circulate through the whole body, and the whole body is nouriſhed and ſupported.

The three grand objects worthy the attention of a wiſe people, are the ſtate of their *Commerce*, *Liberty* and *Religion*. If the *Commerce*, the *Liberty*, and *Religion*, both of Great-Britain and her Colonies can alone be ſupported and ſtrengthened by a cloſe and laſting Union between them, then the *reciprocal advantages* of ſuch an Union muſt be ſelf-evident.

I have ſlightly touched the firſt of theſe. There have been ſo many accurate mercantile calculations made in almoſt every pamphlet that has been lately publiſhed on the ſubject, that I take it for granted, as a truth univerſally admitted, that the advantages of trade between Great-Britain and her Colonies are reciprocal.

With reſpect to *political Liberty*, ſhould it not be the glory of England to tranſplant, to water, and carefully to nurſe, even in a

diſtant land, a ſyſtem of government which is the admiration of the world; and ſhould not America adopt, and chearfully ſubmit to ſuch a government? Were it poſſible for Great-Britain, with an high and arbitrary hand, to think of ſnatching from her Colonies the eſſential privileges of Engliſhmen, and yet would have them ſubmit as Engliſhmen to her government, and bear only the name and appearance of the free-born ſons of Liberty; it would be to dreſs her ſlaves in livery, and deck America in robes of paper, to make her the contempt and deriſion of every other nation. On the other hand, would the Colonies, with baſe ingratitude, attempt to throw off all dependance on the mother country, they would put themſelves in the ſituation of a ſilly girl, who leaves the guidance and protection of a wiſe and affectionate parent, and wandering away expoſes herſelf to ruin by the artful inſinuations of every wicked and deſigning ſtranger. But why ſhould the mutual connection between the parent-country and her Colonies ever come into queſtion? Are we not one nation and one people? And do we not own obedience to

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one common King? Thoſe who adopt the ſame religion, the ſame plans of government, and the ſame cuſtoms, are undoubtedly of the ſame nation. Different climates and different ſoils mark out countries, but not nations. We of America, are in all reſpects Engliſhmen, notwithſtanding that the Atlantic rolls her waves between us and the throne to which we all own allegiance. Nor can we, though in ever ſo flouriſhing a ſtate, throw off our dependance, or diſſolve this Union, without breaking the very bonds of nature. As well might the branch ſay unto the trunk, See how I glow with bloſſoms and wave with foliage: I have no further need of thy ſap, keep it for thy own nouriſhment!

On the other hand, does not Great-Britain, by tranſplanting her conſtitution into America, as a ſcion from the ſtock, propagate her own likeneſs? Nay, does ſhe not make unto herſelf another crown and another ſceptre?

In all attacks that ſhall be made upon Great-Britain by the numerous rivals of her power, and enemies to her proſperity; her colonies, like a number of dutiful and promiſing

miſing children, growing up round her, will more and more add to her ſtrength, and contribute to her importance. And ſhould it ever happen, amid the revolution of things human, that thoſe enemies ſhould prevail againſt her, what could her ſons loſe but the beautiful iſland they have ſo long poſſeſſed? Even in that caſe (which we truſt and believe will never happen) they might find in the Colonies a ſure aſylum; thither they might remove with all the noble privileges of their conſtitution, as to a people and country they can call their own; and the Britiſh throne might yet ſhine with undiminiſhed glory even in the preſent wilds of America.

Laſtly, with reſpect to the religious liberties of the people of England, how precious they are, let the price which has been paid for them declare------And theſe will be as much ſtrengthened by a perpetual Union with the colonies, as their civil liberties.

But excluſive of this conſideration, it certainly muſt be the glory of Great-Britain to propagate, protect and encourage in her colonies that ſacred ſyſtem of religious truth which

which ſhe holds ſo dear. Indeed, that ſhe herſelf judges in this manner, is evident from her many charitable donations for promoting the intereſt of learning and virtue in America.

In ſhort, the Proteſtant Religion, and particularly that excellent branch of it the national Church of England, is the pure and healthful air in which the political conſtitution of Great-Britain, moves and breathes with health and vigour; Religious Liberty being hereby fixed on as firm and broad a baſis as Civil Liberty, both of which are ſo eſſentially interwoven with the nature of her government, that it cannot be adminiſtered without them. Nor can her empire be more effectually ſtrengthened, than by extending with it whatever ſhe finds valuable in her own poſſeſſion. This is her intereſt, and it muſt be her honour, as it is likewiſe the intereſt and honour of the Colonies to receive, nouriſh and join with her in the ſupport of every thing of this kind, which can only be done by a perpetual Union between them.

How deteſtable then muſt the politician be, who ſhall ever attempt to kindle the deſtructive

ſtructive flames of jealouſy between two friends, whom nature ſeems to have united in the cloſeſt bonds, and whoſe hearts and intereſt are, and ever ought to be, one? Should any one ever ſucceed in this (which God forbid) I doubt not but that after much cruel contention, and unnatural bloodſhed, each would ruſh into the other's arms, and emphatically cry out, "We are both in the wrong."

This ſubject might be expanded into volumes, and no doubt will be; but I leave the full diſcuſſion of it to more able hands; and humbly hope this little Eſſay will be accepted as the oblation of one who intimately feels the importance of this great truth, that a perpetual Union between Great-Britain and her Colonies, will ever be reciprocally advantageous.

FINIS.